

1964

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

18123

not every item of expense incurred by the Agency for International Development in backstopping the operations of the Advisory Committee must be charged to the ceiling. Rather, it is only the direct costs of the Committee that must be so charged. In my judgment, this analysis of the language could not be questioned if it was also clear that the Foreign Relations Committee had no intention of inhibiting the Advisory Committee in carrying out its mandate. So I ask the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee whether it was the intention of the committee in striking out the language in the House bill to curtail the operations of the Advisory Committee in any respect.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. It was not the intent of the committee to curtail the operations of the Advisory Committee on Private Enterprise. Rather, it was the view of the Foreign Relations Committee that only certain items of cost were to be charged to the ceiling and that on this basis the \$50,000 was wholly adequate. That is why it was stricken out.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank the Senator very much. That reply will be very helpful, so that that important committee may do its work.

I should like to address one additional question to the Senator which perhaps he or one of his associates will answer. I call attention to the amendment adopted by the committee at page 3, lines 12 to 15, of the bill, which provides:

Strike out "fraud or misconduct" in the second proviso and insert in lieu thereof "fraud, misconduct, or action not meeting the standard of reasonable business prudence."

That language relates to the guarantees of private investment in underdeveloped countries and would insert a new basis, "the standard of reasonable business prudence," for not honoring claims based upon such guarantees.

I am advised by representative members of the banking community in New York that the inclusion of this vague new standard will very materially cut down the amount of investments under the so-called all-risk guarantees, which are primarily in housing. Some of the largest banks and leading brokerage firms in New York, which have already made housing loans in Latin America, particularly in Colombia and Peru, and are making further investment plans there, including Venezuela and Argentina, advise me that the guarantee in this form would be unacceptable, and that they would not take the risk under such a guarantee because it could be avoided by the Government if it wanted to.

Since the words "not meeting a standard of reasonable business prudence" are as wide open as anybody could make them, I ask the chairman of the committee to tell us why that language was inserted and whether he would consider accepting an amendment to strike it out.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. This amendment was a result of an amendment by the Senator from Ohio to insert the word "negligence." The members of the committee, including myself, were opposed to it. After extended debate about the

word "negligence," this particular language was offered as a compromise in the belief it would not prejudice the guarantees in the same way the word "negligence" would.

It may well be the Senator is correct. I was not in favor of the insertion of either. This particular language was the result of a compromise in the committee over the word "negligence," which it was sought to impose, and which I opposed. I did not feel strongly about it. I did not think, speaking for myself, this language would make it easier to satisfy private participants than the word "negligence" would.

Mr. JAVITS. The word "negligence" was placed in this section by amendment once before, and it was stricken out in conference for this very reason. After all, what is the use of having a guarantee provision in the legislation if the very people we wish to induce to invest will not do so under such language? These are multimillion-dollar projects.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. If the Senator feels strongly about it, I suggest he offer an amendment relative to the point.

Mr. JAVITS. In this instance, I would not wish to prejudice the case by offering an amendment which would be turned down.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Personally, I did not think that language was necessary. However, as I have stated, after extended debate on the matter, this was the best we could do. I did not think it was necessary to have either the language "negligence" or this language, but the committee felt otherwise. I went along with the compromise in order to bring the bill out of committee, which we often have to do. Since that time, I have had letters, as the Senator has, that raise a question as to whether it is a workable phrase.

Mr. JAVITS. What troubles me is that the objections come not from people who merely do not like the idea; they come from the very people who are putting up millions and millions of dollars for the very projects we wish to encourage.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I may remind the Senator that this matter will be in conference, because it was not contained in the bill as it came from the House.

Mr. JAVITS. I place on the record a strong condemnation of its acceptability. I would not want to prejudice what might happen in conference. I would rather leave the record at this point by stating categorically that those we expect to encourage to invest money in this way, and who have already invested very substantially, object to the language. I have reference particularly to the Chase Manhattan Bank, which has already signed a first investment guarantee contract for Peru and has several other projects pending in an advanced stage of negotiation.

When those we are trying to encourage tell us themselves that this language is discouraging and inadvisable, and that it has a real tendency to cause them not to enter into such transactions, I think we had better take heed. Such language would surely cause a lawyer,

to advise his client not to underwrite a project under such terms, if he was worthy of any fee at all. We had better take heed of the result, and I hope the committee will take heed.

# MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the RECORD an article appearing in last night's Washington Star by Richard Fryklund entitled "Minor Incident Led to Reds' PT Attack."

I also ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD an article on the same subject printed in this morning's Washington Post written by Murrey Marder.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star] TINY SPARK, BIG FIRE: MINOR INCIDENT LED TO REDS' PT ATTACK

(By Richard Fryklund)

The whole Tonkin Gulf incident which precipitated the crisis in southeast Asia, might never have occurred except for confusion—on both the American and Communist sides—over a little-noted incident last Saturday.

The story centers on a South Vietnamese raid on a North Vietnamese island.

Here's what happened, according to Pentagon sources:

Units of the South Vietnamese Navy took a raiding party to the island of Hon Me, about 10 miles off the coast of North Vietnam on Saturday. Guerrilla forces were put ashore for dynamiting raids.

## FLEET PATROLS

The American 7th Fleet was not told about the operation, even though American advisers in Saigon were kept informed.

South Vietnam has a fair little navy of its own—some destroyer escorts and patrol craft—and does not need American Navy help. It coordinates its raids (on what it considers to be the Communist-occupied part of its homeland) with American advisers in Saigon.

The 7th Fleet conducts regular patrols by sea and air close to the entire sea rim of the Communist world.

Specifically, American destroyers, with aircraft nearby, cruised up into the Gulf of Tonkin looking for signs of Red Chinese and North Vietnamese activity—surface shipping, military ships, aircraft, etc.

The destroyed *Maddox* was on such a mission.

She had left Formosa July 28 specifically to see if the new talk in North and South Vietnam about expanding the war had resulted in increased Communist operations.

She sailed north past the Red Chinese island of Hainan, looped up no closer than 12 miles from the Red Chinese mainland and then started southward, well out from the North Vietnamese coast, on Sunday.

As she sailed past Hon Me Island—which is about 30 miles south of the PT boat base of Loc Chao, which was destroyed by U.S. planes on Tuesday—she detected on her radar a concentration of junks, which the North Vietnamese Navy uses for coastal patrol craft, and four PT boats.

## SHIP TURNS TO AVOID THEM

*Maddox* officers did not know it, but these ships were picking up the pieces after the South Vietnamese raid.

The *Maddox* turned slightly aside to avoid them, and sailed on unconcerned.

18124

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

August 8,

The North Vietnamese American officials now believe, probably thought the *Maddox* had been shelling the island or at least had escorted the raiders.

So four furious PT boats tore out at 50 knots to slay the dragon.

Their tactics were poor and all they did was lose one boat, take damage on three others and arouse Uncle Sam.

U.S. officials, including the President, played the incident down in public on the assumption that it could have been an honest mistake on the part of the North Vietnamese.

They took the precaution, however, of warning North Vietnam that further assaults on innocent American destroyers would be punished. They also took the precaution to improve coordination between 7th Fleet ships and Saigon.

The *Maddox*, then accompanied by the destroyer *C. Turner Joy*, continued the placid patrol.

Then to the astonishment of the Americans, North Vietnam ignored the warnings and sent a half dozen PT boats after the destroyers Monday night.

The rest is history.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post]

"MADDOX" INCIDENT REEXAMINED; MISCALCULATION THEORY WEIGHED IN VIET CRISIS

(By Murrey Marder)

U.S. officials last night expressed doubt that the torpedo attacks in the Gulf of Tonkin signaled a major Communist offensive, but cautioned against ruling that out entirely.

As hours and days pass without sign of any military buildup to retaliate for the U.S. air pounding of Communist torpedo boat bases in North Vietnam on Wednesday, American estimates of the crisis are being reexamined. So are U.S. assumptions about the causes of the crisis.

Officials are now giving greater weight to the possibility that the Sunday and Tuesday attacks on U.S. destroyers off North Vietnam may not have been an elaborate plot by that nation and Communist China to change the nature of the southeast Asian crisis.

More attention is now being centered on the possibility that the torpedo boat attacks could have been the result of confusion and miscalculation by North Vietnam, instead of a deliberate plot joined in by Red China.

New information yesterday from American sources tends to support the theory of Communist muddling, rather than plotting. But American officials at the same time emphasize their lack of knowledge, and inability to determine, which of these premises is correct.

From a security standpoint, officials stress, the United States must prepare for the worst, even though there are no present signs of a great Communist offensive in the offing.

At least an increase in Communist Vietcong activity in South Vietnam is anticipated. But that would be considerably different from any major expansion of the Vietnamese conflict that the United States has been obliged to brace itself to resist, since its retaliatory strike at the North Vietnam PT boat bases.

American officials are now much readier to concede than they were in the tense days earlier this week, however, that what the United States branded and still regards as a "deliberate" attempt to challenge this Nation on the high seas, may not have been regarded in that light by those who ordered the attacks.

A missing element in public knowledge of the Gulf of Tonkin action explains why the North Vietnamese attacks perhaps were not part of any long-range plan.

It is this: North Vietnam could not have known long in advance that the destroyer U.S.S. *Maddox*, the target of the first attack

on Sunday was going to be in the Gulf of Tonkin. The *Maddox* reached the scene only on Friday, July 31. Moreover, it had been weeks since the *Maddox* or any similar vessel patrolled the same zone, officials said.

Previous information from American sources about the nature of U.S. patrol duty had created the public impression that the patrolling vessels were on station in the gulf almost continually, for nearly 2 years.

Instead, American sources said last night, the patrols were conducted at irregular intervals.

The timing significance of the presence of the *Maddox* on July 31, is that on July 30, South Vietnamese naval forces did raid the Hon Me (and Hon Ngu the North Vietnamese also claim), islands in the area near where the *Maddox* later appeared.

Without officially acknowledging that South Vietnamese raid, American sources say that neither the *Maddox* nor any other American vessel was involved in such raids, and the attack on the *Maddox* therefore was unprovoked.

U.S. officials, concede, however, that the North Vietnamese may have been confused about the *Maddox*, which fired warning shots at the PT boats when they approached her in what the United States called "attack" formation. For that reason, the United States regarded the Sunday attack on the *Maddox* as a possible isolated incident.

But Tuesday's attack, 85 miles at sea, on the *Maddox* and the U.S.S. *C. Turner Joy*, sent to reinforce her, could not possibly have been accidental, American officials were and are firmly convinced.

However, officials here do now concede that the second attack on the destroyers *Maddox* and *Joy* may have resulted from a determination to salvage North Vietnam prestige, bruised when the first attack ended with one Communist PT boat sunk, two damaged, and the *Maddox* unharmed.

That second attack, under cover of darkness, it is now said, could have been ordered by the North Vietnamese Defense Ministry or other officials without full understanding of the international consequences.

The United States regarded that attack as a grievous challenge to its historic, legal rights on the high seas, demanding prompt retaliation.

But North Vietnam may have seen the situation in a different light. Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara said on Thursday that the South Vietnamese Navy includes 500 armed junks built at U.S. expense and often used to halt and inspect North Vietnamese junks in coastal waters. McNamara acknowledged that "in some cases" South Vietnamese junks, "I think have moved beyond" the 17th Parallel that divides North and South Vietnam.

In summary, U.S. officials are diminishing none of their charges and justification for the action that this Nation took against North Vietnam. But they acknowledge that North Vietnam, in effect, may have been shooting from the hip, without any inspiration from Red China to provoke the United States into widening the war.

That might account for Vietnam's admission of the first attack on the *Maddox*, while denying that the second attack ever took place.

The Vietnamese would have a better chance of arguing their first attack before the world than the second.

American officials regard the daily rising North Vietnamese claims of damage inflicted on the American planes that struck the torpedo boat bases as a new attempt by North Vietnam to save face.

What is causing indignation to American officials, however, are suggestions being made by diplomats of several non-Communist countries at the United Nations and elsewhere, that Communist denials of any second attack are true.

The idea that the United States concocted the story of the second torpedo attack by several Communist boats in order to justify its air assault on the North Vietnam boat base, U.S. officials said, is utterly fantastic.

It is absolutely inconceivable, they said indignantly, for anyone to suspect that the United States could or would pledge all the men of the 7th Fleet who participated in that second attack, and the Johnson administration, to join in such a plot is falsehood.

While the United States cannot provide photographic evidence of the night attack, there is considerable courtroom evidence, they said.

Officials disclosed that a searchlight on one of the U.S. destroyers was knocked out by small arms fire in Tuesday's night attack on the *Maddox* and *Joy*, that one of the destroyers attempted unsuccessfully to ram an attacking torpedo boat, and that a torpedo passed within 300 feet of one destroyer.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, both of these articles bear out the very points that I have made in several of my speeches in the Senate in opposition to the U.S. warmaking policy in southeast Asia. These articles point out that it is quite possible that the bombardment of the two North Vietnamese islands by South Vietnamese patrol boats and the subsequent observing by the North Vietnamese of U.S. destroyers patrolling in Tonkin Bay caused the North Vietnamese to draw the false conclusion that the U.S. destroyers were connected with the bombardment of the North Vietnamese islands.

The fact that the U.S. destroyer *Maddox* was probably 30 miles off the North Vietnamese coast when the bombing of the islands took place undoubtedly had a provocative effect. At least North Vietnamese PT boats took out after her as she changed her course and took out to sea. We have been told in our briefings that the *Maddox* was some 60 to 65 miles off North Vietnam when the North Vietnamese torpedo attack was attempted.

As I have said before, I do not think there is any question about the fact that the very presence of American destroyers in Tonkin Bay, even as close as 60 to 65 miles off the mainland of North Vietnam at the time of the bombardment of the two North Vietnamese islands, to say nothing about 30 miles, was bound to be a provocation.

I made the point in a speech the other day that if Castro used his Communist patrol boats to bombard Key West and we observed Russian warships or submarines even as far as 60 miles from Key West, we not only would look upon the incident as a Russian provocation, but we would fire upon them if they did not immediately surrender.

I just do not know who the Pentagon Building thinks it is kidding if it thinks the world is going to accept its alibi that the United States was not guilty of any provocation in Tonkin Bay by having its naval ships patrolling as close to the mainland of North Vietnam as they were patrolling when the South Vietnamese armed vessels bombarded two North Vietnamese islands.

I am satisfied that the commander of the *Maddox* had not been informed of the bombardment. However, it is not a material fact because our naval ships

1964

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

18125

move under constant radio contact, and if at any time any naval support was needed nearer to the mainland of North Vietnam, it, of course, could have been ordered there instantaneously by radio.

I am also satisfied that in Saigon, U.S. officials both at the Embassy level and military level knew in advance of the bombardment of the two North Vietnamese islands and that Khanh planned to escalate the war into North Vietnam by this bombardment. We have been given no evidence to date that the United States did anything to make any attempt to stop that escalation.

It is my judgment that with knowledge of the escalation and with our taking no steps to prevent it, we cannot claim to have washed our hands of it. I am satisfied we were clearly implicated in it, because I think it is obvious that if we had warned Khanh that any attempt on his part to escalate the war into North Vietnam would meet with our disapproval, he would not have carried out the mission. We should have disapproved of it, at least until we notified the American people that we were no longer going to carry out the policy which our Government had reported to the American people was its policy in South Vietnam, namely, a policy of no escalation of the war to the North, at least at that time.

I am satisfied that the advisers to our Government for the past several months, principally Secretary McNamara, General Taylor, and Ambassador Lodge, have favored, in fact, escalating the war and have been at work step by step to help create a favorable climate for a final acceptance of an escalation of the war. I think that the State Department preferred for some time to confine the war strictly to South Vietnam, but finally McNamara and his escalated war associates prevailed over Rusk, and Rusk has now gone along. We are now confronted with this historic American tragedy.

On February 15, 1898, the U.S. battleship *Maine* was destroyed in Havana Harbor by an explosion. Two hundred and sixty-six lives were lost. An American board of inquiry reported to the Navy Department on March 21, 1898, that it believed the explosion was caused by an external mine, based on the conclusion principally on a finding that the principal reason for the sinking of the ship was an upheaval of the ship's bottom.

"Remember the *Maine*" became the war cry against Spain which swept the United States. The President of the United States declared a blockade of Cuban ports on April 22, and on April 24, the Spanish Government declared war against the United States. On April 25, the U.S. Congress in a declaration of war declared that war had existed since April 21.

Interestingly enough, as the Encyclopedia Americana points out:

On April 11, 1898, McKinley addressed to Congress a message requesting authority to end the civil war in Cuba. Eight days later, Congress passed three resolutions which recognized Cuban independence, demanded Spain's withdrawal from the island, and, interestingly enough, authorized the President to employ the Armed Forces of the United States to achieve those ends. A fourth resolution, proposed in the Senate by Senator

Henry M. Teller, of Colorado, and called the Teller resolution, was adopted as an amendment to the three; it disclaimed any intention on the part of the United States "to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control" over a Cuba liberated from Spanish rule. In consequence, Spain immediately severed diplomatic relations, and on April 25, Congress declared the existence of a state of war as from April 21.

Spain claimed that the *Maine* was sunk by an internal explosion. Controversy has waged ever since in the writings of historians. Some have alleged and others have denied that the battleship *Maine* was not, in fact, sunk by Spain or Spanish sympathizers but went to the bottom of the harbor as a result of an internal explosion.

In fact, in many of these writings the speculation is advanced, with some interesting circumstantial evidence, that the *Maine* might have been sunk by Cuban rebels who were seeking to revolt against Spain and to join with the United States in that revolution.

One thing is certain, and that is many historians in their research and writings raise serious questions as to whether or not the United States was justified in moving so fast into a war against Spain. It would appear that the weight of the evidence presented in these writings would lead to the conclusion that a series of U.S. provocations forced the war upon Spain.

The effect of these historic writings has caused many people in the last 25 years or longer to be very skeptical about the alleged justifications given at the time of the sinking of the *Maine* which led shortly thereafter to a declaration of war. As a result, in recent years, the slogan "Remember the *Maine*" has come to be used as a slogan of warning with respect to evaluating statements made by officials in the executive branch of Government, particularly the military, when threats to the peace arise.

I am satisfied that as the slogan "Remember the *Maine*" has come to raise doubts as to the justification of American precipitous action prior to the declaration of war against Spain in 1898, so the slogan "Remember McNamara" will come to be the warning in history of America's unjustified provocative action which led to a major war in Asia with all its dire consequences. The slogan "Remember McNamara" will come to be the warning for cautious evaluation in respect to the events in southeast Asia which led to escalating the war into North Vietnam and now threatens escalating the war into other parts of Asia.

The news stories today that the use of U.S. military might in North Vietnam seems to have cowed the North Vietnamese and the Red Chinese may very well come to be recognized as whistling by a graveyard.

I am satisfied that the major premises on which we have marked our course of action in southeast Asia up until today are so unsound that no sound, final conclusion can result from their application.

Every thing that Senator GRUENING and I have warned the Senate about in the last 5 months concerning our mistaken course of action in Asia has come home to haunt us. We never should

have attempted to substitute unilateral military action in South Vietnam in direct violation of the Geneva accords and the United Nations Charter for the international conference table. Unless we propose and urge a political and economic approach to the settlement of the threat to the peace in Asia, now stalking as a skeleton symbol of death, we may set back for a quarter of a century or longer the substitution of the rule of law for the rule of military might.

It is such a chapter of American history that I shall continue to do whatever I can to dissuade my Government from writing.

Mr. President, turning briefly to another matter, I ask unanimous consent that I may have printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, at the appropriate place, certain communications I have received in connection with the Asian resolution.

There being no objection, the communications were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PORTLAND, OREG.,  
August 8, 1964.

WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.:

Bravo on your forthright stand on the Vietnam situation. Keep up the fight.

Mr. and Mrs. W. E. LEPPERT.

PORTLAND, OREG.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.:

My admiration for you is increased by your vote in the Senate today.

ROY MARVIN.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.:

As parents we extend our heartfelt gratitude for your outstanding courage and devotion.

Mr. and Mrs. R. MARCUS.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.:

We support your stand on Vietnam wholeheartedly. Your outspoken manner on this and other vital issues is refreshing in this era of repression of facts from the public.

MICHAEL B. RUBIN,  
TERRY STEINHART.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.:

Continue protesting our Indochina policy. Your voice of reason is our hope for peace.

Dr. and Mrs. HAROLD LEWIS.

MANHATTAN, KANS.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Chambers,  
Washington, D.C.:

God bless you, Senator. The United States needs 50 more such as you. Heartiest commendations.

R. CORRY.

WATERBURY, CONN., August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.:

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Yours seems to be a lone sane voice in this rather insane Vietnam

18126

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

August 8.

situation. We would like you to know that we admire your courage and condone your stand. Keep up the good work.

FRANCIS and SHERMAN QUINTO.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., August 7, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.:

Your stand re Vietnam and Geneva accord is to be commended and shows great integrity.

B. R. LATTON.

GERMANTOWN, N.Y., August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE, of Oregon,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.:

We gratefully support you on Vietnam situation.

Mr. and Mrs. IRVING ROSENBERG.

BOSTON, MASS., August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.:

You are the last rational man in Congress today.

ROBERT NOVICK.

SKOWHEGAN, MAINE, August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.:

We are thankful for your courageous stand on Vietnam.

BARBARA DEMMING and MARY MEIGS.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.:

Thank you from my heart for your stand on Vietnam.

THE LENORE PETERS JOB.

DENVER, COLO.,

August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

Sincerely commend your action in Senate to prevent spread of conflict in Vietnam.

Mr. and Mrs. HAROLD SANDERSON.

EVANSTON, ILL.,

August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

Commonsense and statesmanship are both from God. Thank God for yours.

L. T. WYLY.

SAN JOSE, CALIF.,

August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

Thank you for speaking the truth and exposing fraudulent U.S. position in Vietnam.

AILEEN HUTCHINSON.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,

August 7, 1964.

WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

If a high noon film is ever made about politics WAYNE MORSE should be the hero. Over the years I have watched with admiration your lonely stands against war mongering and venality. The oligarchy that nominates President will never choose you, but what a back bracing feeling of integrity to live so that you within yourself know and millions of unheard Americans hear WAYNE MORSE in Congress and out as their friend and the fearless champion for their Amer-

ica. My hat's off to you for your typically WAYNE MORSE stand on the Tonkin incident.

MILTON HEIMLICH.

TACOMA, WASH.,

August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

I support you in your vote against undeclared war in an area where we do not belong.

MINA MCINNIS.

MUSKOGON, MICH.,

August 7 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.:

Thank you for your vote against the Vietnam resolution and your courageous talks against it. These prelection crises have a suspicious odor about them.

HERMAN AND OLGA DORSCH.

DALLAS, TEX.,

August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

Congratulations for your stand taken in the last few days.

FRANK AND GEORGE MADIS.

BERKELEY CALIF.,

August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE of Oregon,  
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

Applaud courage and good sense in position against Vietnam resolution.

Mr. and Mrs. WILLIAM PITT.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.,

August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

Thank you for your courage in opposing U.S. position on Vietnam.

MARGARET M. THOMSON.

TACOMA, WASH.,

August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.:

In view of your masterful stand against war in Vietnam, I urge you to answer the article in Reader's Digest for August by Richard Nixon, entitled "Needed in Vietnam the Will To Win." You can tear it to pieces paragraph by paragraph and heaven knows it needs just that. You have the prestige and the ability needed.

REX S. ROUDEBRUSH.

CHICAGO, ILL.,

August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

Congratulations on your stand regarding Vietnam and general cessation of hostilities in the Far East. Keep up good work.

Mr. and Mrs. J. S. FURST.

BEVERTON, OREG.,

August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wholeheartedly agree with your sane stand on the Vietnam situation. My husband and I believe all our troops, ships, planes, and money should be pulled out of this hotpot immediately. We do not approve of President Johnson's move in stepping up this action.

We have plenty of enormous problems to be solved here at home without "borrowing trouble" in other parts of the world. The lives of our fine young men and taxpayers' hard-earned money should not be wasted in this manner.

This situation could erupt into something too terrible to imagine.

Thank you, Senator MORSE, for your valiant work and efforts on behalf of the "little man."

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Mrs. ANNA B. MOORE.

P.S.—I am also writing to President Johnson and Oregon's other Senator and Representatives.

A.B.M.

SHERIDAN, OREG.,

August 3, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senator,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I want to tell you again of my continued appreciation of the fight you are making against our involvement in the South Vietnam situation. The way the administration is handling it, it looks like our American forces are going to get out of control and get us in a war with China.

I will certainly support President Johnson to the very limit if he can withdraw our troops from that humid, sultry mess and get us out of southeast Asia where we had no business to go in the first place, where they continue to kill a lot of American boys who have not the slightest idea what is in store for them. If President Johnson can promise the voters that he will clean up that unsolvable mess within a reasonable time, and will do so, I am sure it will be worth several million Republican votes next November.

In other words, we are paying out a good many hundred million dollars of the voters' and taxpayers' money with no tangible or substantial result in the future or near future. We keep mining deeper instead of getting out.

Very truly yours,

OTTO HEIDER.

P.S.—If the administration would cut down on just a few of the billions we are wasting on space exploration, and we just paid about a third of a billion for a picture of the moon, he would get so many Republican votes I am afraid we would hardly know Senator GOLDWATER was in the race.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,

August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am wholly in accord with your sentiments on the war in Vietnam.

I have so written Senator KUCHEL, with copy to my Congressman, PHILLIP BURTON, and copy also to Senator HUMPHREY, on the theory this man might very well be the next Vice President, and that he can wield a lot of power, and is not truly frightened out of his wits by the specter of "godless communism." Also copy to WILLIAM FULBRIGHT.

Actually, the establishment has dug its own hole, and we are truly a warlike nation, and very, very materialist minded, because we have been taught to be so, by most every administration.

Really, it's more than amazing that we can spend millions in southeast Asia, but that there are 40 million people in the United States at or below the poverty line. Further, that we are trying to make other countries "democratic," but we don't do much to insure democratic processes for the Negro. In fact, seems we do as little as we can. I note how the Justice Department has refused to prosecute all over the South; how the FBI is harassing every group bent on seeing that the Negroes register and in other ways attempting to become part of the country; that even the Kennedy administration appointed

1964

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

18127

Federal judges who were already in contempt of U.S. laws, and very likely the Johnson administration is doing the same. And this complaint comes from a longtime Democrat. We don't have enough money to see that Negroes are allowed to register in the South, but we have millions for moon shots and similar lunacies. We don't handle the state of insurrection in Mississippi. Is it because we don't have enough soldiers to do so? And we don't have enough because we have so many in southeast Asia trying to force that area to become "free." Is GOLDWATER just carrying to a logical conclusion what two Democratic administrations have been yipping for for years? And we want to fight Cuba? Because 11½ billions of American dollars went down the drain? Wasn't that the amount?

I have sent money to the National Committee for an Effective Congress in the past, but this year, direct to the Senators and Congressmen who need it. In the past, some was specified for your campaign. As a long-voting and long-suffering citizen, let me applaud your efforts.

Yours very truly,

MISS EILEEN F. WOODS.

LAMBIE & MOLATORE,

Klamath Falls, Oreg., August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: Last night I read your article in the last issue of the Progressive about United States policy in Vietnam. I read it with deep concern and complete approval of your viewpoint.

I had scarcely finished reading the article when I heard a radio news broadcast telling of the deadly turn events have taken in that area and President Johnson's proposals.

I immediately sent President Johnson a telegram which read as follows:

"Your proposed southeast Asia policy pursues dismal course set by Dulles, approved by GOLDWATER. There are no moral or legal grounds for what we have done or propose to do. Withdraw our military, turn problem over to United Nations and divert millions now going to Vietnam to United Nations."

Yours sincerely,

KENNETH E. LAMBIE.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.:

Bravo for your stand on Vietnam. Thanks for speaking for me.

R. W.

CONCORD, MASS.,

August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I send this brief word to commend you heartily for your stand on southeast Asia.

Our mouthings concerning democracy and peace are empty as we support our puppet Khanh (whose own people deny him) and refuse to negotiate. Time is long overdue when we should practice what we preach.

Good, good wishes.

Sincerely,

IRENE HOGlund.

August 5, 1964.

DEAR SIR: Our actions now going on in southeast Asia by the United States are contemptible. How can Johnson accuse GOLDWATER of hip shooting when he is doing the same thing? I hope you will continue to speak out against our operations there.

SIDNEY DORFMAN.

August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We are 100 percent with you in your analysis of the trouble in Vietnam. Thank God for your sane voice in the Senate.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. and Mrs. JOHN LONERGAN.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We appreciate your remarks, especially the question you raised that the U.S. ship that was attacked was covering South Vietnamese shore raids, and the moral issue this raises. Keep it up.

We are wiring Senator CLARK and Senator SCOTT to pay attention to your question. Please do not bother to reply.

ELIZABETH MARSH.

AUGUST 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE, of Oregon,  
Senate Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Many are down on you, however you have supporters also. Why hasn't someone recalled the "Panay" incident when the U.S. gunboat was shelled and sunk on December 12, 1937, on the Yangtze River above Nanking. We didn't bomb Japan, but the latter apologized for the "mistake," accidental bombing. It would have been much better had we called Japan's hand them.

AUGUST 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I want to thank you for what you said of U.S. to beat our swords into ploughshares and war no more. With the grace of God. We need men like you to stand and be counted out for peace at home and abroad. I see our President is offering the old age pensioners a raise of 5 percent; it won't buy shoe laces. God be with you.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.,

August 7, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Your voice is, as usual, that of reason and wisdom in a morass of fear. "Tis good to have a giant's strength. But to use it as a giant is tyranny." Asia is not quite awake; to humiliate them once more is neither prudent nor humane.

Sincerely,

PHILIP MORRISON.

LONG ISLAND, N.Y.,

August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

We support your courageous stand against extension of war in Vietnam. Many Americans with you.

BERNARD L. WINTER, D.D.S.

BALTIMORE, Md.,

August 5, 1964.

The Honorable Senator MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: You were seen and heard on CBS news broadcast this early evening and I want you to know that the public is with you on the stand you took against any stand that will involve us in another war. You are right. A round table discussion on Vietnam (North and South) with those countries involved, at the United Nations Council room should clear matters.

MRS. ARTHUR RUDOLPH.

COVINA, CALIF.,

August 5, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senator from Oregon,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you so much for taking the position you have and saying so well what you have said today. If it would not be an indirect vote for Mr. GOLDWATER I would write your name in as my choice for President in the coming election.

More than once in the past few years I have listened to you with great admiration as well as a certain deep sadness because

your honest clear words were not also coming out straight forwardly in the beautiful diction we listened to so eagerly in 1952 and 1956.

You are a brave and honest American and a great Senator to whom I point with pride when my serious idealistic high school age children ask searching questions about political integrity.

With deep appreciation,

FLORENCE W. ROSE.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,

August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Our profound gratitude for your outspoken stand against Mr. Johnson's inexcusable action.

To those of us who know what has been going on in Vietnam, you are the only voice of sanity in what appears to be a sea of paranoids.

We beg you to continue your fight. You have our support and our thanks.

Sincerely,

MARGERY BOEHM and EDITH BOEHM.

AUGUST 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am certainly glad there is one person in this country with a little sense and willing to speak up the way you have.

Can't we find some way of getting out of Vietnam? I am 50 years old & all I've ever known is wars. I'm sick of it.

Respectfully,

FAYE R. HALPERN.

VAN NUYS, CALIF.,

August 4, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR PRECIOUS SENATOR MORSE: Jeremiah cried out in the wilderness; Tom Paine used a quill to talk his commonsense to the American people—but you (thank God) have television. Please, seek out every possibility and opportunity to use it in its educational capacity to bring facts and reason to the Nation at large. Indeed, get those "cloakroom" votes into the Senate to vote "no" on the LBJ resolution re: Vietnam, etc.

Gratefully,

SYLVIA MAJOR.

MERIDEN, CONN.,

August 6, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

We commend you, sir, for your heroic stand on the North Vietnam issue.

If there were more courageous lawmakers like you—there would not be the imminent danger of war hanging over our heads.

Thank you for your excellent statesmanship.

Sincerely,

HENRY LAVIN.

CLEARWATER, FLA.,

August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR: Thank you for giving a gleam of hope that there is still a vestige of sanity left in the sordid spectacle that our Senate and House have become. Truly you have a tremendous courage to stand up and declare the real truth to those who know it to be fact just as you do, but would prostitute their honor and veracity to the personal gains to be harvested by joining the mobs who must continually scream against Communists today and someone else tomorrow in order to keep the wheels of profit and corruption turning.

As powerful as our Nation is, she can only taste ashes of defeat by subjugating the weak and weary of the world.

Please, please don't change and stop challenging those who make a mockery of truth



18128

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

August 8

and honesty. You are truly a dedicated statesman and so outstanding especially when pictured with Saltonstall, Dirksen, Smathers, Stevenson, and etc.

Very sincerely yours,

KATHLEEN FEDORSYN.

P.S.—You might tell Mr. DIRKSEN he has long since become over exposed and now just appears senile.

AUGUST 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,

HONORABLE SIR: I would be proud to be your constituent, but I am no less proud that you can raise your courageous voice in the Senate.

May your efforts for sanity and peace prevail in these moments of crisis.

Respectfully and with admiration,  
ABRAHAM GINSBERG.

MIAMI BEACH, FLA.,

August 6.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senator of Oregon,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I want to congratulate you on your courage to stand up against all the odds against you and speak out like a modern Isalah against the wrongs committed by our Government in South Vietnam and in all of southeast Asia.

Our warmongers in the Government as well as in Congress are proud of the fact that our Government—the Goliath—has inflicted untold damages to—North Vietnam—the David.

Unfortunately, our Government is acting like a bully with a big stick and stands ready to use its gigantic force to suppress internal upheavals in any country in the world no matter how far or near they are to our shores. Our country came to be what it is today through a revolution and a civil war, and yet we stand ready to suppress any movement in foreign lands which does not agree with our own sociopolitical standards.

You are reflecting the opinions of many millions who know very well, that the struggle in South Vietnam is one between two sections of the population in that country. We are pursuing a policy originally conceived by Mr. Dulles of brinkmanship and containment.

I am afraid that our policy will eventually lead to a global nuclear war the results of which our statesmen are blind to envision as well as the Hitler gang could not foresee the results of their adventures instead of cleaning up our own backyard which is plenty dirty with poverty, racism, bigotry, Nazis, Birchites, and Goldwarites, we are spending billions of dollars and kill our men and defoliate strange lands.

Is this the land of Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln?

Respectfully yours,

HARRY EICHMAN.

DETROIT, MICH.,

August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
The Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: You are to be congratulated by all American people on your stand regarding the Vietnam situation. The more so because you are outstandingly courageous for the right regardless of party lines.

As a former newspaperman, and independently interviewing friends and some strangers, I find that few of them feel that the United States has a military right in Vietnam or the Far East. Among other things they feel that it is a progression toward another Korea. And it is very difficult to sell people on the right to expend lives fighting offensive wars in the yellow or black population sectors of the world.

Most people feel that the Korean war dead represent a political whim of Washington.

I feel that Oregon may be proud of its choice as Senator and only wish we here in Michigan had such representation instead of a couple of party patsies, HART and McNAMARA, big unearned money on one side and the UAW on the other.

Very truly yours,

FREDERICK G. NEWTON.

Acknowledgment not expected.

AUGUST 5, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate, Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: My wife and I both want to thank you for speaking out so clearly and frankly on the situation in South Vietnam, and the U.S. role out there.

You expressed clearly what we have been thinking all along. We don't know how else to say thank you except to write.

And we thank God there is at least one courageous voice to speak out in a time of crisis.

Very truly yours,

TOM and PHYLLIS WRIGLEY,

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,

August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am writing to tell you that I have nothing but complete admiration and respect for your courageous stand on our recent actions in Vietnam. And, as this is the first time I have written to you, I must tell you that I have long respected you in your capacity as a Senator, and the many brave stands you have taken.

I wish there were more men with not only as strong a moral conscience as you, but also with the courage to express their views in the face of any anticipated public antagonism.

I only hope that I someday will have the privilege of being able to vote for you for a national office.

Very truly yours,

LINDA DELTON.

SAN MATEO, CALIF.,

August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to express my profound gratitude and respect for your one sane voice on the Vietnamese situation, and for your tremendous courage in continuing to raise your voice in a Congress in which apparently no one else will do so, on this issue.

Sincerely,

CATHERINE ROLLINS.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,

August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations on your courageous stand on the matter of Vietnam. Your action and speech prove your magnificent fortitude and genuine patriotism. We support your stand as do large numbers of Americans who may not express these sentiments in such a letter as this.

Yours respectfully,

Mr. and Mrs. IRVING BLOCK.

AUGUST 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We heard your statement regarding our current actions in southeast Asia on the radio, and felt we had to write to express our appreciation and support for your voice of sanity in the current madness.

We are a young couple, with a young baby, and we would like to look forward to a decent, safe future for ourselves and our child. We feel that our current actions in

southeast Asia threaten our futures and those of millions of other people.

May your clarity and those of others like ourselves prevail.

Very sincerely yours,

THOM and ELAINE SMITHAM.

TUJUNGA, CALIF.,

August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We strongly support your views on the Vietnam situation and fully agree that it should be subjected to the conference table before more people are killed on both sides and before we are forced into a "full-scale war."

Sincerely yours,

ADELE and SIDNEY SIRELSON.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,

August 6, 1964.

SIR: I wish to thank you, to fully support and encourage you, in your plea for sanity in Vietnam. Yours is the only congressional voice which speaks honestly after scientifically facing the facts of the situation. It is amazing and frightening to me, how dishonest other are; how they respond to a situation like Pavlov's dogs. They seem to relish the waving of the flag and the brandishing of arms with no respect for human beings or even for facing facts.

Please keep talking. Yours is a much needed and invaluable voice.

With all good wishes.

Yours,

JUDITH RUBEN.

DAVIS, CALIF.,

August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
The Capitol,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: After watching your interview on the "Today" show and your expressed ideas again on CBS news tonight, I want to write some encouragement to you. Your ideas seem to make a great deal of sense and are very sound. My husband and I hope you can persuade other Senators and the President to your way of thinking. You have great courage.

Good luck.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. FRED HENDRIX.

RIVER VALE, N.J.

August 5, 1964.

The Honorable WAYNE MORSE.

SIR: My family and I wish to take the liberty to briefly express our feeling concerning your work for our country.

We think you are a very courageous and a great man. Your honest stand concerning the problem of Vietnam has been a source of hope for myself and my family.

My wife, my two young daughters, and myself stand with you.

We wish you continued strength and the very best of health.

Respectfully yours,

PHILIP STEIN.

SANTA CRUZ, CALIF.,

August 5, 1964.

DEAR SIR: We wish to thank you for your honest and forthright stand on the dangerous and ill-advised action which Mr. Johnson has taken regarding Vietnam. We honor you for your voice of protest and have sent an airmail letter to the President to protest his action. The conference table is the place to settle these matters and when the United States claims to be the moral leader of the free world it should by word and deed prove it to the world and not act the part of bully boy. We heartily support you and will do so by every means at our command.

I am,

Yours truly,

LAURA KING.

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

18129

1964

MENLO PARK, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: This is to commend you for your continued opposition to the conflict in Vietnam.

It is certainly now more urgent than ever that an international conference be held to bring about peace in Vietnam through compromise and negotiation.

Yours respectfully,

MADELINE G. SALMON.

CHULA VISTA, CALIF.,  
August 5, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: This is to congratulate you on your commendable and courageous stand in the matter of the pending motion concerning our involvement in the highly dubious operations in southeast Asia theater.

It would better serve the Nation if a motion requiring every Member of Congress to read and understanding the booklet "A Nation of Sheep" was passed instead.

Sincerely,

G. K. ANDERSON.

SANTA MONICA, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Chambers,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to express my deep gratitude to you for your forthright and courageous statement concerning our Government's military actions in North Vietnam.

Where are the other Senators who agreed with you in the privacy of the cloakroom, but who did not have the courage to support you on the Senate floor? How many of them will feel morally obliged to vote against the predated declaration of war in Asia?

Many good Americans who really want peace instead of world war III, will give you their fullest support in your continuing struggle.

Gratefully yours,

TOMA L. TOMASH.

WILDWOOD, N.J.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for stating your convictions in regard to Gulf of Tonkin action as reported in the August 6 press. The whole human race is fortunate in having your voice as its representative in Washington at this time.

Oregon must be uniquely endowed with unusually perceptive people to have selected you as their voice in Congress; in most other States of the Union, you would be fortunate in having a corner soapbox.

I could hope that my State Senators, CASE and WILLIAMS, would have your courage and dedication in this critical time of strife, but if they do it was not reported in our local paper (Atlantic City Press).

Please continue in your allegiance to all of mankind within this country's Senate as the U.S. alienates itself from the rest of the world.

ANDREW C. NIELSEN.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate Building,  
Washington, D.C.

Thank you for your shining ray of truth on Vietnam.

Are we really so naive or have we been so "brainwashed" that we've forgotten that provocative acts result in punitive measures?

The United States had no business being in Vietnam, in the first place, and cannot justify her belligerency now.

We urge you to continue presenting the facts to the American people.  
Gratefully,

MORT and JILL GLANKOFF.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to indicate my wholehearted support of your opposition to present American activities in southeast Asia. Your courageous stand has not only heartened me—and a great number of my friends—but you have managed to call to the attention of the public some facts that seem in great danger of being lost. You will be happy to know that your statements of the last few days were quoted even here in Los Angeles, home of the lunatic fringe.

My guess is that the Chinese will not intervene until we produce a new provocation that they cannot ignore further. In spite of their florid statements, the Chinese seem to behave in an extraordinarily pragmatic fashion. I suspect that they would be quite willing to stand by if southeast Asia were placed under an order guaranteed by the United Nations. While that would probably eventuate in a peaceful transition to some form of popular Communist government in the area, that is exactly what makes the plan attractive to the Chinese and I doubt seriously that we can expect anything better. Certainly the past 10 years that we've spent trying to club them to death has availed very little.

We know that Pentagon planners have been seeking a way to escalate the war in southeast Asia without involving China for months now. This is the maddest of delusions. China has only tolerated us in that area for so long now because they knew we didn't have a prayer of winning. If we go all out for a win in Asia they'll boot us out in 2 weeks. Then what? Will our injured prestige require us to use nuclear weapons on China?

If my guess is correct and China does not respond to this provocation and we do not attempt further provocation (seeking the criminally foolish escalation), the worldwide pressure for a U.N. solution in the area will increase. We should all work to make that prospect a reality. I therefore applaud your actions toward this end. As you have so many times in the past, you have once again earned my respect, admiration, and gratitude.

Sincerely,

FRED HAINES.

TORRANCE, CALIF.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: May I add my support to the others concerning your recent attack on our southeast Asia policy. Your stand has brought me renewed confidence in the quality of your leadership.

I had the good fortune to get to read your article in the Progressive a few days ago. I readily agree with you.

Due to our most recent action in North Vietnam I hope to be hearing even more from you, against our artificial policy in southeast Asia.

I have the honor to remain,

Very respectfully,

Mrs. RITA NONOD.

WILDWOOD, N.J.,  
August 7, 1964.

Senator MORSE.

DEAR SIR: I heard you speak on TV and I agree with you. I hope others do. The people are like this—first they cheer at war, then they grumble, and blame those who

made it. The mothers state their boys have to be killed so the big shots can sit back and have it soft. I am no mother. I am single, because in the depression all the boys I knew could not get employment. Most of them married old rich women in order to live. When the boys from the First World War went to Hoover and asked for jobs, he had tear gas squirted on them. This was told to me by a soldier who went there. He died from the war and although a smart college fellow, couldn't get employment. He didn't even have carfare. I knew people who lived on \$1.80 per week. I kept a boardinghouse and everyone was on welfare, but Hoover became wealthy. He helped the foreign people, but charity begins at home. Since all the countries we helped think this move is wonderful, but would any of them help us in trouble? I saw a picture once where Churchill told his soldiers the Americans only came over when the war was over. Yet the Americans love him. The English tell their people we are their colony. They have told me this. Would they help us in war like we helped them? I say don't go to war unless our country is fired on, then we must fight back, but not before.

I knew that Civil Rights Act was wrong because I know Negroes. The more you give them, the more they want, and the South knew how to handle them. Give them the moon and they will take all including the politicians. They want to take over and rule. They aren't qualified, and mixing with the whites will never work. The people here in Wildwood dislike them and my barber says he will throw them out of his place. He don't care about any law. He is Italian and I notice they don't like them. The Negroes are troublemakers. They want to rule. If they go to white barbers, that will put colored barbers out of work. Because of two wars and a terrible depression I have suffered terribly nearly all my life. My parents lost everything in the depression leaving me to face all the debts with nothing to face them with. The Home Loan Corporation was kind enough to give me a loan to save my home. We lost 17 houses and \$25,000 in banks, building loans and houses were gone. We didn't have a cent in the house. Mother lost her mind. Father at the age of 80 cleaned houses to make a living, fell and died. The country was in a mess, but Hoover got rich. That is why the Republican Party had to suffer. The people lost their faith in it. I want peace in my old days.

MISS E. MANSLEY.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I wish to send you my heartfelt appreciation for your courageous stand in the crisis which faces our country.

I hope that your courage will be contagious, and that others will rally to your position.

We need the sanity which you have so forthrightly expressed.

Sincerely,

DAVID FRANCHI.

WOODSTOCK, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: It was good to read your words of criticism on the southeast Asian crisis, words that had the effect of a blast of clean air through a murk of duplicity, palpable mendacity and revolting hypocrisy.

I am thankful there is one man in the U.S. Senate both clear sighted enough to recognize a fraud and brave enough to oppose it.

Respectfully,

EDWARD SCHINDELER.

18130

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

August 3

EMMANUEL PRAYER SANCTUARY,  
Toledo, Ohio, August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: My wife and I support the stand you took concerning our Nation's retaliatory attack on North Vietnam. We are glad that at least one or two in Congress are not afraid to speak out in defense of a saner, broader, and more Christian policy. Personally I would rather be one man with God, than to just go the way of the impulsive crowd. I know it takes courage to speak as you did, and I am glad you had that courage.

Certainly none of us who are Christians can have any love for the godless principles of communism . . . but the question we must consider is whether our Nation is putting its trust in material weapons, or in the divine principles which provide our only real security?

Also why was our Government so quick to act, before the peoples had an opportunity to hear both sides of the story? And since the attacks upon our boats inflicted no damage, why did we take such a warlike measure in retaliation? We have heard much about a presidential nominee being too "trigger happy." Just who is showing the restraint now, that we have been proclaiming is necessary to avert another world war?

The Communists make no claim to being Christian, but our Nation does. Why then are we so quick to use the methods of the Communists? I am glad you quoted the Scriptures. They seem to have too little meaning to our Government officials in times of international testing. I am reminded of the Scripture which says: "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth."

I believe if we were endeavoring to be the kind of Christian nation we profess to be, we wouldn't have to be so concerned about policing the rest of the world. I wonder how much prayerful guidance of the Divine was sought before we launched our retaliatory attack?

I pray for America. For our President, and other leaders. For our peoples. Certainly we need a great spiritual awakening in this Nation. I believe there are wiser ways of dealing with communism than we have been employing. I am glad that there are at least a few leaders such as yourself, who call to our attention that we might practice more of the Christianity which we profess. I believe that God will deal with the evils of communism. But I believe He will also deal with the sin and pride of our own Nation. Certainly we all need to do a lot of praying, and seeking divine guidance.

Sincerely,

STANLEY G. JACOBS.  
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I thought it would be of special interest to you to forward to you contents of an article by a foreign correspondent for the Los Angeles Times, one Donald Neff, out of Saigon that you may not have seen. I am sorry I had already pasted the item up or I'd send it to you. I could obtain an extra copy and mail it to you if you request it. The situation in southeast Asia is too frightening for the mind to grasp. Only paranoia could bring us to this state wherein we provoke and blame the victim for the provocation, thanks to GOLDWATER. The article appears in the August 4 edition.

The title of this article is, "Khanh Declares United States Should Show Strength"; subtitle, "Urges 'Firm Action' in Retaliation for Ship Attack; Others Skeptical of Story." Halfway down the article it says:

"Some Vietnamese officials privately expressed skepticism about the U.S. version of the incident.

"One official said with a laugh: 'That is a very unusual guerrilla action for three small ships to attack an American destroyer in broad daylight, isn't it?'"

"All believed there had indeed been combat between the destroyer and the North Vietnamese ships, but they openly questioned why the PT-type boats would make such a suicidal attack without provocation.

"They also wondered what motivation the Communists could have in ordering an isolated incident as described by Washington since such action very likely could result in a declaration of war.

"No followup action by the Communists has been reported, thereby making even more questionable the likelihood that all the facts have yet been told, the officials said."

GOLDWATER's questions raised in the same issue make it obvious that his extremist foreign policy views led to this incident since Johnson had to strengthen his image this presidential election year.

Sincerely,

MARK KEATS.

WOMEN FOR LEGISLATIVE ACTION,  
Los Angeles, Calif., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We, the members of Women for Legislative Action, Day chapter, commend your courageous stand on Vietnam, and hope more voices will be encouraged to speak out forthrightly.

We would like you to know that we have sent the following wire to President Johnson:

"Urgent immediate conference at United Nations representing all parties concerned on Vietnam crises. Present military actions cannot resolve basic political and economic issues at stake. Continued fighting could escalate to world catastrophe. We call on you to mediate at United Nations to maintain the peace."

Thank you for the great leadership you are showing on this question.

Sincerely yours,

ANNETTE CIMRING,  
President.

ROCKPORT, MASS.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: During these days of crisis over Vietnam, I wish to voice my wholehearted approval of your seemingly lone position on Vietnam.

It has become a matter of great integrity to stand firmly against the overwhelming tide of the majority opinion.

It is unfortunate indeed, that the press and communications media seem to find little available time for you to express your much needed views. If you do have any available printed material stating your opinions on this issue, I would greatly appreciate receiving it.

It is my fervent hope that more men and women with principle will begin to realize the urgent necessity for an intense and realistic review of our Nation's past and present history and actions in regard to the situation in Vietnam.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. ELLEN GABIN.  
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator MORSE: I want to express my admiration and appreciation for your lone voice of reason in the midst of the Vietnam crisis.

That the U.S. Government has misrepresented the situation to its people for the past few months is disgusting, if understandable

in terms of political issues which have been allowed to overshadow more reputable issues. However, this latest disregard of the international commitment of all nations, and especially those with nuclear power, to peace cannot be excused.

Your assessment of the President's request for power to do what he deems necessary is correct and your courage in speaking out is a hopeful note in an otherwise disgusting situation.

Thank you. You speak not only for the people of Oregon but for all those who insist on looking behind the falsifications the Government has made.

In admiration,

JOAN ANDERSON.

ROCKPORT, MASS.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for breaking through the wall of silence erected by the Government and the press, and letting the people know the alarming facts about our dangerous Brinkmanship in Vietnam.

The present provocative course can lead to the destruction of us all.

Respectfully,

PHILIP REISMAN.  
LOUISE K. REISMAN.

BROOKLYN HEIGHTS, N.Y.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Bravo. One man in the right does indeed make a majority.

There must be many Americans in many States who are grateful to you for speaking out on the shameful role of our Government in the Vietnam mess.

Thank you for representing us. You are far more than the Senator from Oregon. You are the Senator of the real America.

With great love and respect.

LEANORA POLLITT.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: On behalf of the American people I should like to thank you for the courageous and clearthinking statement you issued in reference to the U.S. belligerent stance in the Gulf of Tonkin. One sentence in the columns of words devoted by the New York Times to the situation in southeast Asia casually mentions that the aircraft carrier in the gulf has been used as a base for attacking planes sent to Laos. This alone might well justify the North Vietnamese in their attacks. I doubt that a "base" in "international waters" is immune from retaliation.

Thank you again for providing a voice of reason in the wilderness of nationalistic chauvinism. I have admired your statements on U.S. policy in southeast Asia in the past, but have never had the opportunity to let you know of my gratitude.

Please forgive this unorthodox, scribbled note. If I were to wait for the opportunity to type it, it would never get sent.

Sincerely,

Mrs. J. S. BELLIN.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE L. MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am appalled by the very dangerous actions taken by the President and Defense Department in North Vietnam, and I am equally appalled that yours should be the lone dissenting voice in Congress. Though you may stand alone there, I am sure that the overwhelming ma-



1964

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

18131

majority of the American people support your position without reservation, for it corresponds to our fervent desire for peace.

I applaud your courageous fight—it is not easy to be one against so many—but you have the backing of the plain people even though they are not all articulate. I beg you to keep up the struggle to avoid a third world war.

Respectfully,

ANNE ZUDBERG.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,

August 6, 1964.

Hon. Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I greatly appreciate your stand on "the predated declaration of war in Asia." Right you are. All that I can say, God bless you. Let us not make Vietnam another Hiroshima. War cannot bring victory, will not destroy communism, can only destroy people, property, and the American image.

Respectfully yours,

Mrs. VERA BACHMAN.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,

August 5, 1964.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I agree with Senator WAYNE MORSE regarding the Vietnam situation as he expressed it on CBS-TV tonight.

Bombs may be the way to peace for Senator GOLDWATER, but not for me.

"Premature" to go to the conference table? Let's not wait for the mushroom clouds. Let's have a U.N. conference now.

Yours truly,

HAROLD N. EVANS, O.D.

(Copies to Senator MORSE, Senator GRUENING, Senator AIKEN, Senator KUCHEL, and Senator SALINGER.)

SAN FERNANDO, CALIF.,

August 6, 1964.

It was a copy clipping from the Los Angeles Times, a wealthy Republican paper.

The article contained nearly two full columns on page 1 and more on another page. Who? and what? are they fighting for over there?

Somewhere I read another article about the scorched earth policy over there, some 20 miles long.

How barbaric can a supposed civilized nation get?

Perhaps this Nation has used enough of the gunboat and machinegun diplomacy around the world. And especially in Latin America.

In Latin America, in interest of the big banana boys and fat cats of Wall Street, where is the good neighbor policy of F.D.R.? I'll not sign this for fear it might fall into wrong hands—so P.O. "supersnooper," as it were.

#### CATHOLIC FOOD PLAN IS CORRUPT

The Los Angeles Times this month front-paged a story in which it accused Henry Cabot Lodge of suppressing a report that showed as much as half of \$68 million U.S. surplus food has been channeled to corrupt Vietnam officials. The food was handled by the Catholic Relief Services.

The astonishing record of mismanagement and corruption was documented in the Times story. A priest, Paul Duchesne, admitted that as much as 23 tons of food were sent to one corrupt Vietnamese official. He said he hadn't taken action to stop this because "I didn't want to rock the boat."

The newspaper story charged that tons of food clearly marked "not for sale" could be found for sale on market stands throughout South Vietnam.

It also charged that parish priests distributed the food free to Catholics but demanded payment for it from non-Catholics

who actually make up 80 percent of the population.

A report on the subject, covering 8 months of work by investigators, was suppressed by order of Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, according to the Times.

SOUTH ORANGE, N.J.,

August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I have just heard on the radio about your courageous stand on Vietnam. It seems that you seem to be alone among our leaders in viewing the situation realistically. President Johnson's speech last night was an insult to the intelligence of the American people. It is hard to swallow the line about defending freedom when we support the corrupt Khanh dictatorship. As far as I am concerned, dictatorships of the right are just as bad as those of the left. I hope you will continue to oppose our dangerous and undemocratic policy in Vietnam.

Sincerely,

STEPHEN WALLERSTEIN.

TAKOMA PARK, MD.,

August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Both my wife and I are completely in accord with your position on Vietnam. Yours is the only voice of reason and sanity in this deliberately developed state of hysteria. Please, please let no pressures of expediency sway your stand. We have spoken to many people in the past 2 days who are agreed that you are right. Our heartfelt good wishes are with you.

Sincerely yours,

HENRY G. PEARLMAN.

SANTA BARBARA, CALIF.,

August 6, 1964.

Mr. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senator from Oregon,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MORSE: Congratulations on your courageous stand about Vietnam; also for your speeches and articles on the same subject. You make such a convincing case for your opinion that I am at a loss to know why you cannot convince your colleagues to go along with you.

I am ashamed of the United States, my country, for its actions in southeast Asia, and I am in favor of using the United Nations. Intelligent, reasoning people should rely on law, not on beastial force.

Mexico showed it practiced what it preached by referring its dispute with Guatemala to the United Nations. Is Mexico to become the moral leader of this hemisphere?

I cry "Shame, shame" on the powerful interests which push our country into such situations. What can we little folk do?

Keep up the good work and try to get many more on the Hill imbued with your courage.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

PAULINE HURLIMANN.

NEW PALTZ, N.Y.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SIR: I am not, strictly speaking, a constituent of yours but I feel that in a broader sense, Congress as a whole represents the people as a whole.

I write to commend you on your point of view regarding the current critical situation in southeast Asia. Some stands for freedom are self-evident, immediate, simple but I have never accepted as valid our involvement in the "fight for freedom" in

South Vietnam. Our presence and our activities must perforce become provocative in so complex a situation.

I do hope the United States will agree with the suggestion offered by France to make possible a roundtable discussion to work out equitably a settlement of the southeast Asia situation.

Thank you for your sane remarks.

Sincerely,

CONSTANCE FINE.

LA CRESCENTA, CALIF.,

August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR: Thank you, Senator MORSE, for one voice of sanity in this Vietnam crisis.

Incidentally, you may be glad to know that the Los Angeles Times did give you complete coverage. I am going to send them a letter of praise for that.

Sincerely,

ROBERT SHILLAKER.

HASTINGS ON HUDSON, N.Y.,

August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I applaud your courageous position on our involvement in Vietnam and I am in complete accord with your views. It is a sad commentary on the caliber of our representatives when they react like spindrift to the winds of chance.

Times are too perilous and men like you are too few. How and when will the leaders of our country rise above narrow partisan advantage and the questionable patriotism of extreme action in this age of perpetual clear and present danger to the world and humanity as a whole?

The people of our country are enmeshed in a web of outright lies and half-truths and like Gulliver are the prisoners of small minds and petty artisans of disaster.

It is a blessing indeed to have at least one man like you speak for so many troubled people.

Sincerely yours,

ABEL MEEROPOL.

HASTINGS ON HUDSON, N.Y.,

August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: It is heartening that you have had the courage and conviction to stand up in Congress and fight against our embroilment in Vietnam. However, it is depressing and alarming that you are the sole voice of dissent.

I have written to the President for myself and my family opposing this recent action. I would appreciate receiving your speeches on the crisis in Vietnam so I can be better prepared to bring the facts to people and friends I speak with.

We hope you can affect the minds of some of your colleagues in Congress, so that the American people can be brought the truth through more men in Government, and in turn help stop this mad misadventure.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. ANNE ALLAN.

DETROIT, MICH.,

August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank God there is at least one man to stand up against our madness in Vietnam. I wish there were some way I could help you.

We have been arming feverishly since Truman's administration, while the rest of the countries were repairing the ravages of World War II.

Now we are the military power top dog, ready to terrorize the whole world.

President Johnson speaks of peace and makes war. He speaks of freedom and dictates to the whole world. Mr. Johnson is out-Goldwatering GOLDWATER. I'm sad to say

18132

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

August '8

that his actions will hurt the Democratic Party, the United States and the rest of the world.

We can destroy the world but we cannot conquer it with madness—Hitler proved that.

God bless you.  
Sincerely,

JOHN Z. GELSAVAGE.

NEW YORK CITY, N.Y.,  
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I admire you as a man of courage and principle for the stand you have taken against our actions in South Vietnam.

We are playing a risky game which could very well lead to a nuclear war.

Further, I do not feel that the United States has the right to police the world. We cannot use the excuse that we want to keep South Vietnam free because it is no more free than its northern neighbor since neither hold elections.

Let's hope that others in the Senate will search their consciences and find the courage to speak out.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. LILA LURKA.

WHITTIER, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Hon. Senator MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: For a long time I have been encouraged by the forthright stands you have made in the interest of peace and international justice. It is regrettable that so few of your colleagues in the Senate have the courage and understanding to support you.

Am especially disturbed by U.S. bombing of North Vietnam ports and I want to support your stand on this very strongly. Personally I would go further and place most of the blame for this regrettable action on the United States first for wrongly supporting reactionary forces in South Vietnam for years against common people yearning for reforms and progress toward uniting North and South. And secondly—Why do we have to add further incitement by having our battleships within even 400 miles of North Vietnam, why only 30 or 60 miles? Are we so afraid of the "Paper Tiger" reputation that we cannot be satisfied with sinking those puny PT boats? The bombing of those poor little ports was so unnecessary—so cruel—and worst of all—so few voices in U.S. raised in protest. Indeed we are a "nation of sheep." Keep up the good work.

Sincerely,

FRED C. AND AGNES J. SARCHET.

TUCSON, ARIZ.,  
August 6, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Congress,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Too often one is prone to vociferously express anger and complaint. However, I feel it is time for me to state my deep gratitude for the way in which you always demonstrate to the people of this country your honesty in all matters of government.

Your recent statement regarding Vietnam was indeed brave since most of your colleagues would have deemed such a forthright account as being "political suicide." It is most disconcerting to observe and hear the analysis of values and standards bandied about as if it was a makeshift item suitable and malleable according to the whims of the user.

The consistency and truthfulness for which you stand in all of your analyses makes me feel proud there is at least one American who

can stand before the crowd and make his voice heard.

There are too many men in Congress today whose every word, behavior pattern, etc., are obviously tainted with "political expediency."

I regret that I am not a resident of your State so I could feel my democratic franchise could be cast in an appropriate and constructive manner.

Please continue your excellent work. We need more men like you in our country to preserve our democracy.

Sincerely yours,

GILDA M. GREENBERG, Ed. D.

POMFRET CENTER, CONN.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: May I, as one of the "little people," whose voices and opinions are seldom, if ever, heard by the high and the mighty, express my admiration for the stand you have taken regarding the Vietnam issue. Time and again in the years past, have I had occasion to say "Thank God for Senator Morse," as you have stood like a lone prophet crying in the wilderness and dared to express opinions of your own on controversial matters. Your name will always belong to my collection of "Profiles in Courage."

May God bless you.

Respectfully yours,

Mrs. KARL LIVA.

BEMIDJI, MINN.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to commend you for your statement which I heard on TV in regard to the Vietnam crisis.

It has seemed the most sane and sensible words I have heard from Washington on the crisis.

I doubt that you will receive much support for your views. No one seems to understand the "moral values" which you emphasized, but it did my heart and mind good to know we have one public servant willing to speak out for them.

I'm sure there are many Americans like me who hope you will continue to make yourself heard.

Sincerely,

Mrs. CONSTANCE BERG.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Your courageous stand in the Senate in recent months against the aggressive actions of our Government have aroused my admiration and deep respect.

Tonight I heard (over WBAI) that you spoke out again against the latest action of the United States against North Vietnam. When yesterday I heard the news of the North Vietnamese attack by torpedo boats on our naval vessel I had the thought how aptly this happened as a pretext to extend the Vietnamese war into North Vietnam.

The situation is very dangerous. Does Mr. Johnson feel prepared to launch a nuclear war for fear of being thought soft on communism?

With great respect,

Sincerely,

FRANCES SHOSTAC, M.D.

ANAHEIM, CALIF.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: This is to express my deep gratitude and appreciation for your

most courageous stand on the Vietnam issue. I have admired your views for many years, and more recently your position concerning Vietnam since your lonely stance is so outstanding.

I am a wife, mother, and am completing my studies for a Ph. D. in sociology at the University of Southern California. Due to my busy schedule, I am rarely able to write political letters; however, on this urgent occasion, I must extend my wholehearted support to you in your fight for peace and negotiations through the United Nations.

Sincerely,

SHIRLEY CERESETO.

WALLKILL, N.Y.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: For a number of months my wife, as well as myself and a number of friends, have been very closely following your activities in the Senate and your television interviews expressing your views on international policies particularly as related to Vietnam.

All of us have been heartened by your factual understanding and your courage in expressing your viewpoint, a viewpoint which is most convincing. Both logic and history is on your side and since these are the facts you need no vindication.

All we can say to you by way of conclusion is, stand firm, the time cannot be too far away when your position will be unequivocally justified.

Yours in appreciation,

FRED BRIEHL.

P.S.—For your further interest I enclose herewith a letter of mine which was printed in the local paper. You will note that I used a quotation of yours. The reaction to this letter by local readers was most favorable.

F. B.

[From the Walden (N.Y.) Citizen Herald,  
Mar. 5, 1964]

ON VIETNAM

EDITOR, THE CITIZEN HERALD:

The Vietnam situation is very much in the news these days in press, TV, and radio, and correctly so by reason of its possible disastrous consequences. On this I wish to express myself.

I think I can do this best by quoting a speech recently delivered in the Senate by Senator WAYNE MORSE, of Oregon: "On the basis of facts about the Diem regime—tyrannical, dictatorial, antidemocratic, completely Fascist in type—South Vietnam is not worth the life of a single American boy; and so far as I am concerned I shall not vote a single dollar for further support of South Vietnam."

The facts are known notwithstanding the reports of Ambassador Lodge and Defense Secretary McNamara. The South Vietnamese in spite of all our war material and 16,000 American troops there, have no stomach for this conflict. If it were not for our involvement there, it would be settled in a matter of days. Not only is this costing American lives but costing the American taxpayer \$500 million a year.

In view of President Johnson's commitment of "a war on poverty," so prevalent in areas of our own land, this expenditure of \$500 million per year could well be diverted to alleviate the distress within our own borders.

It is blunder enough that we are involved there, and any intensification of this involvement, as some sources advocate, can be nothing more than an infinitely greater blunder with the possibility of developing into a major war of unthinkable proportions and horror. The French, with their several hundred thousand well-equipped troops in that

1964

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

18133

area a few years ago, had the final good sense to withdraw; a similar action on our part would be one of wisdom. The argument of "saving face" that some use, is a feeble one indeed.

I raise the question why our local Congressman, J. ERNEST WHARTON, and Congresswoman KATHARINE ST. GEORGE, are so silent and cannot take a stand similar to that of Senator MORSE.

FRED BRIEHL.

WALLKILL, N.Y.

STATE OF CALIFORNIA, DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, DIVISION OF FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES,

Los Angeles, Calif., August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: How desperately we need courageous, independent voices to tell us "the other side" of this snarled Vietnam story. What appears to be an impartial and adequate extract from your statement is enclosed from the Los Angeles Times.

Can we not push insistently for a U.N. appraisal of this situation?

Do we have the whole picture as to the commercial interests that are jeopardized by the spread of Communist influence in southeast Asia?

In defense of our own legitimate interests how much weight must we give to a potential enemy's traditional deceit and faithlessness?

By our own example can we afford to place this controversy over southeast Asia on a moral level higher than so often obtains when material gain is at stake?

How can President Johnson and the complex establishment in Washington be inspired to disregard the passing inflammatory political passions of the present situation and (perhaps jeopardizing political success) lead the Nation and the Western World in a disregard of commercial interests for the sake of honorable peace?

Sincerely,

JOHN ANSON FORD,

Los Angeles County Supervisor, 1934 to 1958; Democratic National Committeeman, 1952 to 1953; California FEPC, 1959 to date.

[From the Los Angeles Times, Aug. 6, 1964]

MORSE INSISTS U.S. PROVOKED VIET SITUATION  
WASHINGTON.—Senator WAYNE MORSE, Democrat, of Oregon, Wednesday assailed the United States as a "provocateur" in South Vietnam and said he will not support a "predated declaration of war" in Asia.

MORSE, a consistent critic of U.S. maintenance of troops in South Vietnam, voiced his opposition as the Senate's leadership mapped plans to push through a resolution today backing President Johnson in whatever steps are necessary to preserve peace and freedom in southeast Asia.

He charged, in a Senate speech, that the incidents which inspired the resolution—on which the Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services committees will meet at 9 a.m. today—"is as much the doing of the United States as it is the doing of North Vietnam."

## OVERWHELMING BACKING

The resolution, expected to have overwhelming bipartisan backing, grew out of two attacks by PT boats on U.S. destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin. It is expected to be introduced in the Senate today.

MORSE charged that a forerunner to the attacks on the U.S. destroyers was a known bombardment by South Vietnamese naval vessels of "two North Vietnamese islands within 3 to 5 or 6 miles of the main coast of North Vietnam."

He said the clear implication of that incident is that the U.S. Navy stood guard while vessels of South Vietnam shelled North Vietnam.

## SEES MUCH TO LOSE

MORSE declared that the United States has much to lose and little to gain by continuing its unilateral military action in southeast Asia, unsanctioned by the United Nations, and unaccompanied by allies and should strike a blow for peace at the conference table.

"I shall not support any substitute which takes the form of a predated declaration of war," he declared.

"For 10 years, the role of the United States in South Vietnam has been that of a provocator every bit as much as North Vietnam has been a provocator," MORSE said.

He said "We have been making covert war in southeast Asia for some time, instead of seeking to keep the peace by taking the issues to the United Nations or some other international body."

"It was inevitable and inexorable that sooner or later we would have to engage in overt acts of war in pursuance of that policy, and we are now doing so," he added.

He said that whether the choice of expanding the war is that of North Vietnam or South Vietnam is still in doubt. But he said he is satisfied the (Premier Nguyen) Khanh government in South Vietnam could not long continue its civil war unless the war were expanded, and that the United States is a full partner of that government.

"When the high emotionalism of the present crisis has passed," MORSE said, historians will disclose that for some time past "there have been violations of the North Vietnamese border and the Cambodian border by South Vietnam."

"I am also satisfied that they will disclose that the United States was not an innocent bystander," he said. He said U.S. troops were sent into South Vietnam in violation of the 1954 Geneva accords.

MORSE referred to news reports of rumors in Saigon Tuesday of a coup against the Khanh regime, "rumors which are said to have been quelled by the expansion of the fighting."

He said that U.S. charges of aggression against North Vietnam will be greeted "by considerable snickering abroad."

"So, too, will the pious phrases of the resolution about defending freedom in South Vietnam," he said, and added:

"There is no freedom in South Vietnam. I think even the American people know that to say we are defending freedom in South Vietnam is a travesty upon the word. We are defending General Khanh from being overthrown, that is all."

LA CAÑADA, CALIF.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: Thank you—thank you—thank you for your stand on Vietnam. You are so right.

May you be given the strength to continue your fight against the political and cruel jesters.

Sincerely,

NOLA LUXFORD DOLBERG.

NAMPA, IDAHO,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,

DEAR SENATOR: I commend you on your stand on, condemning the President for his warlike maneuvers off the coast of North Vietnam.

And I see that every commentator, and my paper, the Statesman, this morning is mum on the subject, as per the Government's orders, as I have had experience with this Government's censoring anything that is detrimental to their way of deceiving the people in maneuvering them into these periodic wars—of which they are at it again, and will get away with it if we, the peace-

minded people, will not awaken before it is too late.

I am enclosing a treatise on the peoples-to-peoples permanent and just world peace, hoping to interest you in its merits. I am aware of how difficult it is to promote a new political party, but we will have to have a genuine peace party to take to the people if ever we accomplish anything.

Think this through and let me hear from you.

Sincerely, for a peoples world peace,  
NATHAN E. HESTON.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish to express my deepest appreciation for the courageous stand you have taken against the developing war hysteria emanating from Washington.

Your remarks in the Senate on August 5 as reported in the New York Times, represent patriotism at its best. Would that many more of our legislators had the intelligence and courage to speak out before our country and the world is wrecked in an orgy of military brutality.

Maybe if they did so, President Johnson could be prevailed upon to let the Republican candidate be the exclusive exponent of international arrogance and reckless militarism.

Respectfully yours,

JAMES LERNER.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I congratulate you on making the only sane statements in the Senate on the recent horrifying events in Asia. What can be done to keep a "world destroying" war from breaking out? Please let me know what I can do.

Sincerely,

SAMUEL GARNETT.

NEW YORK CITY, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
The Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: My wife and I thank you for your courageous and infinitely sane stand on current U.S. actions in Vietnam.

Sincerely yours,

JAY M. NEUGEBOREN.

LAKE PEESKILL, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I have never written a political letter before, but I was so moved by your statement yesterday on Vietnam, I felt moved to write.

You are a brave and honest man; and you are not alone. There are many people throughout this Nation who recognize the truth in your statement.

I only hope some day you may run for an office for which I might be able to cast my vote for you.

Sincerely,

ANN J. LANE.

BROOKLINE, MASS.,  
August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Since your days as dean of the University of Oregon your pioneering work in the field of parole, I have followed with interest and applause your courageous stand on the issues of the day.

In none have you shown more courage and leadership than in the instant matter of the

18134

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

August 8

dreadful undeclared war of the American people against the inhabitants of Vietnam, who have suffered under the Japanese, the French—and now ourselves.

Your statements as briefly reported on the radio today deploring our newest aggression against the people of Vietnam wins my most hearty accord. We have taken advantage of an apparent aggressive act on the part of North Vietnam to bomb and strafe a section of North Vietnam at the same time that we are doing all we can in the southern part of that beleaguered country to help impose the will of a distasteful political minority on the mass of the South Vietnamese people.

Please continue to speak out loudly and sanely on this crucial issue. Let us not repeat the stupid blunder of Korea and Algeria—let us neutralize this situation now by calling a conference of all the nations concerned and spend the billions we have been raining down in bombs and napalm on the kind of things these people need—schools and hospitals and food—which will be their most positive assurance of a continued stable government.

The entire war is an outrage—against the Vietnamese, the American people, and the peace of the world. Please keep up your courageous campaign to educate the electorate as to the true nature and potential danger of this whole frightful business.

Most sincerely,

BENEDICT S. ALPER.

CORONA, N.Y.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Your courageous statements today on the incidents in the Gulf of Tonkin and the subsequent United States on the Democratic Republic on Vietnam warrant the support of all Americans who cherish peace and our democratic heritage. You have consistently spoken out against the current bipartisan policies of brinkmanship and violation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements and have advocated policies which, if adopted, could bring peace to southeast Asia. You are a great example of the patriot, who, when he sees clearly that his country in following a wrong path, will not cease to protest until his country finds the right path. You have taken a position for peace regardless of the personal consequences which that stand may entail. For this, you deserve the gratitude and respect of the Nation.

May we please be placed on record to receive the texts of the major statements you have made, and those statements which we are sure that you will continue to make, with regard to peace in southeast Asia.

Respectfully yours,

ROBERT and MAY BAYLEY.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I thank you once again for your fine stand on the North Vietnam situation. Most of the people I meet who feel as you do are heartened by your efforts to preserve the peace.

I read about your remarks on the patrol boat incidents in today's New York Times which I have been reading for over 40 years. I wish you could get time on the air to inform the people of the dangers of our Asia policy before it is too late.

Keep up the wonderful work. I do wish my own Senators showed as much courage or wisdom.

With admiration,

Respectfully yours,

HARRY HURST.

OGUNQUIT, MAINE.

August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We wish to congratulate you on your statement to CBS regarding the recent U.S. action against North Vietnam, and to express our support of your plans to vote against the forthcoming resolution in the Senate. If only your positions on the Vietnam situation in general (and also on foreign aid) were more widely publicized.

We would like to obtain copies of your speeches in the Senate on the foreign aid program and on Vietnam, and also the pamphlet "Foreign Assistance Act of 1964—Individual Views of Senator Morse on H.R. 11380," and would appreciate your letting us know how we can do so.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. L. J. SENECHALLE.

CHICAGO, ILL.,  
August 5, 1964.

Hon. Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
The Senate,  
Washington, D.C.:

Thank you for defending the American people.

The destruction of war has not visited our country in more than a century. Is that the reason our leaders are trying to visit war's ravages on others?

Instead of helping peoples we bring destruction and heartbreak. What madmen are these who speak in our name?

Mr. and Mrs. E. BORNSTEIN.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: In every period of moral crisis there comes forth a voice of truth and reason. Surely that is your role in the Vietnam crisis. And many times one person, stating the unspeakable, the naked truth, can halt the unstoppable juggernaut.

Speak and speak again until no falsehood remains unexposed. I wish there were something that common citizens could do to establish a foreign policy based on self-determination by the people of each nation-state.

May God give you continued strength and us all the wisdom to respect our brothers wherever they may live.

Sincerely,

JOHN GRATE.

RICHMOND, VA.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Mighty pleased with your moral courage. May God bless you.  
L. A. W. CHRISTIAN.

P.S.—Happy Transfiguration Day, though it will be a day late when you see this. I thank God for you, sir, and your courtesy.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

Mr. ADLAI STEVENSON,  
Permanent Delegate of the United States to  
the United Nations, United Nations, N.Y.

DEAR MR. STEVENSON: I am one of those who believe that the original attack on the Maddox by the torpedo boats of Vietnam was a stupid action.

However, I believe it was provoked by the United States and South Vietnam. You cannot be so disingenuous as to believe that the proposals to extend the war to North Vietnam which have been debated here for months did not alarm the North Vietnamese. Your sentences about "routine operations" and "patrol" in the Gulf of Tonkin are especially unimpressive, Mr. Stevenson. The presence of our forces there was provocative.

Senator Morse is a courageous man who makes sense. He is a responsible man and if there were debate on his views the result

would be an international position of which Americans might be proud and the further result would be peace.

I wonder if you realize how empty your words sound to the people for whom your name once had considerable significance?

The two parties come together and with the help of those like you (people who should be the enlighteners) one begins to see the issues of war and peace, aggression, and its opposite. Goldwaters and Johnsons, progress and reaction, only as a single, large, undifferentiated blur. And finding no difference and no leaders, our people remain quiet and vaguely disturbed, waiting for a catastrophe they believe they can do nothing about.

Sincerely,

NAT. EINHORN.

VAN NUYS, CALIF.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Having just heard your statement on TV about overt U.S. military action in North Vietnam, I wish to thank you for voicing the opinions of responsible citizens. Our behavior in this part of the world has been reprehensible. Now it appears to be criminal.

Sincerely yours,

LESLIE EDGLEY.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
June 25, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I would greatly appreciate it if you would mail me six copies of your speech on southeast Asia which you presented in the Senate on June 23.

This fight is not falling on deaf ears in southern California. I am trying to pass these speeches around to as many persons as possible.

With the apparent crisis coming shortly, is there any suggestion you might have for a possible nationwide TV exposure on prime time through the help of organizations as SANE, etc?

I would certainly try to do as much as I could if given some direction in this matter. I really believe that newspaper coverage is far from being adequate in the presentation of your exposure.

Thank you again and hope to hear from you in regard to the latter matter.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY J. SILVER, M.D.

LONGVIEW, WASH.,  
July 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations on your efforts to keep us from getting further involved in the war in southeast Asia.

Supposedly, only Congress has the power to declare war, but the executive department doesn't take that provision of the Constitution very seriously.

Yours truly,

HENRY R. KORMAN.

BENICIA, CALIF.,  
June 29, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Post Office,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I was most gratified to hear your support of the United Nations Organization on the program "Issues and Answers." I had not heard the Vietnam situation discussed from that standpoint before, nor was I fully aware of our position under the United Nations Charter. I cannot

understand why we insist upon a unilateral intrusion in Vietnam in the face of all our protestations that we are a peace-loving nation. My only supposition is that the military need some face-saving action to justify the tremendous waste of time, talent, and money that they are responsible for. All the gold-braided generals in the world have never been able to keep the peace, and I wish the 19th-century reactionaries like General GOLDWATER would wake up to that reality.

There is a backwater of opposition to the United Nations here in the United States that shames us and our ideals. In some ways, we have not grown out of the heady victories of the Second World War. But instead of beating the drum and draining the country of money to equip another war machine, why don't all the brass hats ask the dead what those victories mean? Why don't they ask the children who were splattered over the streets with their brains blown out what those victories mean? Why don't they ask those who survived with wooden legs and punctured organs and scarred minds what those victories meant?

As many as the problems are which come before the Congress, Senator, I am sure that the principles are there in every case, and it is a question of whether we wish to abide by them. The principles are simple, they do not need an expert to recognize and apply them, but they are rationalized and embroidered by those who do not wish to recognize them or to abide by them. We have signed the treaty whereby the United Nations was formed and we are obliged to submit to its charter and work within its framework—it is no longer our decision as to whether we shall, we have already made that decision, just as we made the decision long ago that the States were not sovereign, that the duty of Government is to protect life, liberty, and property, and that the Constitution was to be the supreme law of the land.

I am often amazed in both public and private life to see such a hue and cry raised about the right thing to do. I cannot but believe that the answer is abundantly clear but that the sacrifices involved will not be accepted and the real question is, "How can I appear to do the right thing, and yet do what I want?"

It is my earnest hope that you will continue to support such items as conservation, civil liberties, public ownership, birth control, and an enlightened foreign policy.

Please allow me to express my appreciation of the times when you have been outspoken on such subjects. May I wish you a rewarding and active career in Congress.

Sincerely,

BRUCE MEACHAM.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,

July 6, 1964.

Hon. Mr. WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Your forthright statements regarding South Vietnam is consistent with the courage and commonsense your record in the Senate would indicate.

Please accept the sincere thanks of a grateful citizen.

Sincerely your,

HYMAN LATCH.

FORT LAUDERDALE, FLA.,

August 5, 1964.

To The Honorable Senator from Oregon.

DEAR SENATOR WAYNE MORSE: Let me say that I have been an admirer of yours for many years. I have always held the hope that some day you would be President of our country. In my estimation, you are a great statesman. You are not afraid to voice your opinions, even though they may be contrary to Government policy. You scold Uncle Sam when you think he needs it. You are a watchdog for human rights, no matter what

part of the world. Anyone can be a yes man, and many of our Senators are just that. When this apathy sets in, decay is the next step.

I congratulate you, and hope that one day you will be on the presidential ballot so I will be able to work and vote for you.

Most sincerely,

ED. ZIER.

P.S.—Would you by chance know a Señor Mario Diaz Triay? He is from Mexico, D.F. I lived in that country for a couple of years and became friends with him. He said he was your guide through several Latin countries. His stories were interesting.

EVANSTON, ILL.,

August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish to express my appreciation for your stand against the action of President Johnson in North Vietnam. Your lone voice of courage found many echoes, I'm sure, among those who heard and are in agreement with you.

Sincerely,

ESTHER BANKOFF.

MILWAUKEE, WIS.,

August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Having lived to 3 score and 10 and never having witnessed a single public official in any country who has your courage, I feel that I must tell you so. My daughter was indeed heartened by your fine speech also. Words cannot convey our gratitude, only efforts in behalf of peace in your name can do so.

Sincerely,

JOAN and ANNETTE ROBERTS.

P.S.—We loved your "cloakroom" reference—what is the answer to the fact these other fellows won't vote according to their consciences? Stevenson will surely deplore his actions in the future.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

DEAR SIR: It takes a very courageous man to dissent from the almost unanimous opinion of both Houses of Congress on the subject of Vietnam. It seems that you are about the only sane man in Congress at the moment.

How odd it is that the usually outspoken liberals in Congress are those who back up the President the strongest on this subject. Then again, how odd it is that only one man in Congress has the courage to dissent from this very popular (in numerical portions, that is) opinion.

You are to be commended for your bravery, sir.

Sincerely yours,

ZACHARY M. BAKER.

BAY SHORE, LONG ISLAND, N.Y.,

August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I heard you on television tonight voicing your opinion on the Vietnam crisis.

I heartily endorse your view on the need for an immediate conference. Let us not flourish "the big stick" but let us, in the name of God, show our true greatness by forbearance and by our willingness to use every means that United Nations and the conference table can offer.

I think you are absolutely right in opposing the "predated declaration of war" that the President seems to seek.

Sincerely yours,

EILEEN H. KLEIN.

I would say further that we seem to be following the path that great empires of the past have trod—becoming embroiled in far-flung wars that eventually drained the strength of those big powers. The Roman, British, Spanish, and French empires, to

name a few, all fought numerous wars and won them for varying periods of time, but now their empires are defunct and their prestige gone.

That can happen to us, too. But now we have United Nations and we must utilize its every agency to prevent this operation from spreading.

EILEEN H. KLEIN.

P.S. I am writing to President Johnson, advising him that I endorse your views.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS COLLEGE,  
St. Peter, Minn., August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I have written you before, commending your approaches to a number of pressing problems. After listening to your all-too-few remarks on "CBS Reports" this evening. I hasten to write you once more, indicating my general agreement with your remarks on the Vietnam problem.

Certainly, I am no expert on the problem; I know very little about the now long Vietnamese struggles for peace, security, and self-realization. On the other hand, since reading Harold Isaacs book, "No Peace for Asia," some 18 years ago, I have tried to follow the sad and torturous journey the people of this little land have had to take. I was disturbed, no end, when, in 1953-54, the United States, under Dulles' urging and, I suspect, manipulations, became more and more involved in the Indochina affair. Our relations with the South Vietnamese people and leaders since that time have made pretty sad reading.

Your call for a moral appraisal of our involvement was excellent and was not met by other participants in the "CBS Reports" program. Ten years ago, the editor of the Churchman wrote concerning our entrance into the Indochina war, "The American people have stumbled into a grave international crisis. We have frightened and alienated our friends all over the world and we have lost our prestige as a dependable moral leader."

But I suppose what also frightens me is the fact that our recent retaliatory action may lead into a war which, in the end, no one can possibly win and which, in the end, will serve nothing higher than hellish sufferings and death in that sorry section of the world. And finally, Mr. Morse, why, in heaven's name, did we not bring this matter before the U.N. before unloading bombs on North Vietnam?

Is it not possible to do something in Vietnam short of war to bring peace to those poor people?

Hopefully,

Prof. EMMER ENGBERG.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

DEAR SENATOR: We support your stand which you took in reference to the South Vietnam situation. We think you are correct in your statement which we heard on television last night. We hope you will always work toward peace.

Mr. and Mrs. WILLIAM HYMAN.

LANCASTER, PA.,

August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am writing at this time because I felt I must let you know how much I admire your courage in taking the stand you have in this present Vietnam crisis.

I have for a long time followed your career in the Senate. I am only one of the "little people" but have seen the utter uselessness of war at this time in our history when it is not capable of bringing peace to our world.

I thought as I watched you on television yesterday morning of Thoreau's words.



"If a man keep not step with his companions, perhaps he hears a different clamor." I am sure this applies to you. It is so easy to follow the popular trend. God bless you.

Sincerely,

LOUISE DORSEY.

AMHERST, N.Y., August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Your honest appraisal and the courage of your statement is indeed refreshing. I have sent this letter to President Johnson in approval of your statement:

LYNDON B. JOHNSON,  
"President of the United States."  
"The White House,"  
Washington, D.C.

"DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Possibly your action in crisis was imperative under circumstances and programs inherited from proceeding administrations and pressures from extremist groups in a political campaign. However, after hearing, and carefully reading your speech and also the comments of Senator MORSE, and having followed closely our country's actions in southeast Asia, through careful reading of our own U.S. news reports—I must agree with MORSE.

"Otherwise very sincerely."

WALTER F. FAKLANGER.

RATHDRUM, IDAHO, July 26, 1964.

WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MORSE: No doubt, many people are thinking as you are, that we are playing with atomic suicide in southeast Asia, Cuba, and so forth. I want to tell you I am all for you. You seem to be the only one in Washington who has the nerve to get up and tell what crazy insane ventures we get involved in one after the other. I am now writing the Secretary of State, Mr. Rusk. It will probably do little good because the people seem to be hypnotized into silence. I hope you receive the Canadian paper, the Commonwealth, "Regina, Saskatchewan." They quote you quite often. Canada is 50 years ahead of us politically speaking. They—the people—went backward in Saskatchewan, but then, we have BARRY. Best wishes to you—no answer is necessary.

Sincerely,

J. E. MCGORAN.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.,  
August 8, 1964.

THE MASSACHUSETTS CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION,  
Washington, D.C.

GENTLEMEN: I think American policy and action in southeast Asia is the madness of a sick society.

I will not dodge the implications of this statement: I believe that it is at least arguable and, at most, probable that the people of Vietnam would be better off under a Communist government than under any of the regimes which the United States has sponsored. This is not naïveté, and presupposes my awareness that no regime in this area will, for a long time, be able to provide its people with a lot other than one of sweat and tears. It is the blood, and the fact that, under Diem and Khanh, the sweat and tears promise so little, which are deeply disturbing.

The support of these regimes in general, and present American action in particular, arise from the American split personality which, on the one hand, talks freedom, but on the other, facilitates repression in any country which can qualify for the "free world" label by being sufficiently anti-Communist. It is the split personality which boasts of freedom and equality, but which has tolerated a century of human peonage in the South as well as second-class citizenship in the North.

It is the split personality which, on the one hand, points with pride to an open society's free speech and free press while, on the other, it manipulates human beings commercially through a barrage of advertising hokum and politically through managed news and "cover stories" for the supersecret deceptions of such agencies as the CIA.

This is the schizophrenia of a nation which really does have a higher standard of living than many parts of the world, but so misunderstands the reasons for this, and is so hypnotized by the glitter, that its compassion for poverty here and elsewhere has become little more than a collection of phrases thrown up to cover the profitable rights of property.

Such rents as these (one could name a baker's dozen at least) in the fabric of a nation are notoriously concealed by appeals to an unquestioning patriotism, and there is no better way to kill truth, already wounded by the cold war, than by conjuring up a cause out of the witch's brew in the Gulf of Tonkin.

It can only extend the madness to resolve that America is united behind these actions.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN K. DICKINSON.

(Copies to Senators MORSE and GRUENING, the New York Times, and the Boston Globe.)

NEWTONVILLE, MASS.,  
August 7, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: Thank you for raising your voice clearly on the intelligent side of the Vietnamese matter.

I am quoting for you what I have written to President Johnson:

"In her baccalaureate address for the Radcliffe class of 1964, Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson said that these graduates could use their talents to help in an 'unfinished America deep in the process of change' and that they must contribute to peace not disorder."

I am horrified at the retaliation which the United States of America has used against North Vietnam. Perhaps our destroyers should not have been in the Bay of Tonkin. We should not like to have warships from Vietnam patrolling in the Caribbean. Planes could have carried out all necessary surveillance. Now we have destroyed all their chief industries. Ho Chi Minh, well educated and astute, is revered by his people. Mark Mancall, specialist on the Far East at Harvard, calls the movement of the people there populist not Communist. This word has become a meaningless term, but is a red flag in Congress. The Vietnamese consider the United States of America another colonial power like France. I have written you before that my cousin, Solange Lorriaux, was a nurse in the hospital in Saigon, during the Indochinese war. The United States of America has always supported an autocratic government there, not the People's National Party. We are only incurring more hatred with General Khanh.

Let us not be ruled by the Pentagon. It is only by peaceful negotiation, economic aid, and restitution of what we have destroyed that we can 'contribute peace not disorder.'

Wisdom is more precious than rubies, but who listens, dear Senator MORSE. I have cousins in Portland, by name of Brewer, descended from David Lorriaux.

Keep up your courage.

ALICE LORRIAUX MURDOCK.

ROCKFORD, ILL.,  
August 5, 1964.

DEAR SIR: You said it and am I ever glad. When is the U.S. public going to see the Vietnam situation for what it really is? This is not a question of blacks and whites, but a highly complex, longstanding problem which

we (Europeans and Americans) have only irritated. We "foreign devils" as the native terminology has it, have only served to infect the wound. Well, you said it and I am delighted that there is at least one Senator left with the courage of his convictions.

The best of luck in the fight ahead.

Sincerely,

HARRIET VARNUM.

CHICAGO, ILL.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Your courage in speaking out against the spread of the Vietnamese war is the only bright spot in a dreadfully gloomy development.

As a mother—a wife as of now; a widow of a World War II soldier, I plead with you to help contain this spread of war.

I can't help but feel that the Republican convention and its warlike standardbearer, Mr. GOLDWATER, are creating a terrible warlike atmosphere in this country. I hope President Johnson will understand that we fear war and that only talking and peaceful settlement are the answers.

Thank you for the hope you give me and my family.

Cordially,

Mr. M. WEST.

COMPANY C,  
NAVAL SUPPLY SCHOOL,  
Athens, Ga., August 5, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: This evening I heard your interview on the American reaction to the alleged North Vietnamese attack on our destroyers. I can hardly express my gratitude for a responsible person like yourself to speak out for what you believe is the true situation in this armed confrontation.

I have read reports in both the New York Times and the Christian Science Monitor backing up your statement about South Vietnamese gunboat sorties on islands of North Vietnam. I am sure you are well aware of the supposed Laotian air attacks, in U.S.-made planes, on North Vietnamese border villages on August 2. I believe the American people have a right to know both sides of this complex situation. You have done a great deal in the realization of this. For the sake of truth and peace I deeply admire your stand.

Sincerely,

CARL M. HANSON,  
Ensign,  
U.S. Naval Reserve.

DULUTH, MINN.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MORSE: We like to express our admiration for your stand on the United States' involvement in southeast Asia.

Please continue to speak up for true peace and freedom in the world by asking for submission of all disputes to the United Nations without any prior action by U.S. armed forces.

Sincerely,

DON KLABER,  
MARGOT KLABER.

NASHVILLE, TENN.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
The Capitol,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Though I am not one of your constituents, I want to commend you beyond all words for your courageous and honest condemnation of President John-

1964

18137

son's wrong and unprincipled actions in southeast Asia. It is heartening to have one Senator who will stand up and be counted as opposing a blank check to that dreadful and unelected President who now infests the White House. He will lead our helpless Nation into nuclear destruction if Congress does not stop him. Here is the copy of the telegram my husband and I sent to the White House today:

"President LYNDON JOHNSON,  
"The White House,  
"Washington, D.C.:

"We are unalterably opposed to your actions in southeast Asia. These actions are both evil and stupid. As President you are leading America into an unnecessary and suicidal war that will eventually destroy both the United States and the world.

"Mr. and Mrs. WALTER CURRY."

May I thank you on behalf of all the helpless American people who have the intelligence to oppose this war policy so alien to all that President John Kennedy lived and died for. Please, sir, keep opposing that awful President Lyndon Johnson.

Thank you for your honesty and intelligence and courage.

Sincerely,

KATHRYN CURRY  
Mrs. Walter Curry.

UNIVERSITY CITY, Mo.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I wish to give you heartfelt thanks for your magnificent fight on South Vietnam. I hope you will urge defeat of the resolution and further investigation of the incident itself. I cannot help wondering if the CIA was involved—somehow it sounds too much like the Cuban invasion. It is terrible to be so suspicious of ones own government but after the U-2, Cuba and many facts about southeast Asia which have been concealed from the public, I feel we must depend on courageous people like you to get to the bottom of things.

Yours sincerely,

WILLIAM M. BOOTHBY.

SUSANVILLE, CALIF.,  
August 5, 1964.

President LYNDON B. JOHNSON,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I feel that the manifest destiny of the United States is not in southeast Asia.

Southeast Asia is manifestly under the hegemony (or Monroe Doctrine) of Red China and Russia.

Geopolitical hegemonic equity—a geopolitical evaluation of the southeast Asian situation—portrays the United States as the present aggressor upon the continent of Asia.

Therefore, the United States should evacuate all political refugees and withdraw from southeast Asia. Providence has decreed that this is in our best interest. Providentially, the trend of current history on every continent on earth is from nationalism to continentalism, i.e., the economic and political unification of every continent. This inexorable trend of current history should be universally recognized and cooperated with.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

The Reverend JOHN J. HANCOCK.

DETROIT, MICH.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Like a million other Americans, I am terrified. I have children and grandchildren. I lived through the

First World War and the Second World War. They couldn't happen. But they did. After the war to make the world safe for democracy, no country would ever permit a monster like Hitler to come to power. But the most civilized country in the modern world did.

Why was the 7th Fleet flexing its muscles off the southeast coast of Asia? This arrogant gesture of intimidation of a small nation is not explained by the repetitious use of the phrase "international waters." Of course we own the high seas but it would seem a calm person that the only purpose of a can destroyers just outside the line of demarcation would be to create an incident which would give us an excuse to involve North Vietnam. We've tried everything else.

The little soldier of fortune, General Khanh, who can disturb the mighty Pentagon, by calling it a paper tiger, and Mr. GOLDWATER's bully boys seem to be calling the turns on our foreign policy. God help us.

You and Senator FULBRIGHT, and a few—very few—others speak with the voice of sanity. You recognize that we are living in a new world where the old maneuvers will no longer meet the problems. You point out, with an unerring consistency, the danger of retaining the "big stick" foreign policy. For those who believed that might makes right this policy was successful as long as the United States wielded its big stick in this hemisphere and had no nation to challenge it. We are not living in that kind of world now and two great powers are ready to challenge our right to push little nations around.

Sincerely,

JOSEPHINE GOMON.

KENSINGTON, Md.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I admire and respect the courage which you showed in your remarks on TV last night on the Vietnam situation. It is easy to show courage by reacting instinctively in the eye-for-an-eye tradition, especially when you have predominant force. However, it is much harder to state both sides of the case, to admit that we share responsibility for the deterioration of the situation, and to be self-critical.

During emotional times such as these, what you said is not likely to be popular, in the sense of getting others to vote with you. However, it is popular in the best sense of the word; for the millions who will not admit agreeing with you nevertheless know that you are right. Of course, most of us do not know all the facts concerning what led up to the attacks on the U.S. destroyers. However, we all know that you are right in insisting that we consider the whole matter in as unbiased and objective a manner as possible.

More power to you.  
Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM A. ROOT.

BRONX, N.Y.,  
August 5, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Thank goodness there are honest peace loving people like yourself in the Senate. Too bad you weren't President. You have consistently fought for justice. We are with you.

Sincerely,

HAL and IRENE LEVIN.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I would like to let you know that your statements on the Vietnamese crises have my full support, and

further, express my gratitude for your courage in voicing these views.

Respectfully yours,

MIRIAM EHRENBERG.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I was waiting for at least one lone voice to speak out against the tragedy that is now being carried out in North Vietnam, and today it came through. I cannot express the admiration and respect felt for you when I heard your protest on television just a short while ago. I'm sorry you're alone, but it's good to know someone speaks for us who feel so helpless.

Sincerely,

FRANCES MATSOUKAS.

THE MARTIN CO.,  
Oakland, Calif.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Because I esteem you so highly as the leading voice of American conscience, I am sending you a copy of this letter to the President.

"OAKLAND, CALIF.,  
"August 5, 1964.

"President LYNDON JOHNSON,  
"White House,  
"Washington, D.C.

"DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I would be derelict in my moral duty if I failed to air my alarm, indignation, and great concern over your appalling and hasty action in Vietnam. One could well understand a Hitler or GOLDWATER taking such desperate steps, but is dumbfounded at a Lyndon Johnson being so involved, especially after placing so much faith and confidence in him and hearing his oft-repeated pronouncements about 'peace, freedom, and security,' about disarmament being everybody's business, and believing him to be sincere in his appeal to the people to 'help me end hatred, bigotry, intolerance, and violence in the world' and also to 'end the cold war.'

"Might a common citizen remind you, Mr. President, that your imprudent action in North Vietnam is in direct contradiction to these lofty pronouncements and harmful to your image? and that they are in violation of international law, as well as the moral law—subjecting you to the wrath of God and of mankind?

"Further, might one remind you that your great predecessor F.D.R.—whom you highly esteemed and with whom you worked so hard—had outlined a way for settling such international incidents, and had given to humanity—with your help—the four freedoms, still to be realized, and the great world tribunal, the United Nations, which was dedicated to preserve peace, law, and order in the world, and that your unilateral action in North Vietnam is a sacrilege and a desecration upon that great monument to mankind, and to the memory of its founder.

"It is all the more appalling, Mr. President, that you should order such devastation upon a people without first giving the world assurance beyond a reasonable doubt, that these PT boats were really from North Vietnam—other than by the statements of war-minded Admirals, and trigger-happy militarists itching to put their weapons into operation—causing mature minds to question 'could these not have been from South Vietnam or Formosa, whose leaders are well known for wanting to embroil us in a war against Communist Asia?' Is this a case of the fleas wagging the tail, to wag the dog?

"And could it have been fate or the ghosts of the three freedom fighters from Mississippi which arose from their graves—across the perimeter—as an omen to warn and haunt you at the very moment you were proclaiming to the world your order to the Armed Forces to 'preserve freedom' on the other side of the world, when such forces are

18138

so vitally needed to establish law, order, and freedom in Mississippi and other Southern States where it has been so long denied?

"Last night I dreamed that bombs were bursting over San Francisco and awoke trembling. Later I dreamed of being along a waterfront and again bombs were spreading havoc and devastation everywhere—with people running for their lives.

"God grant that such forebodings are groundless and that we still have time to rectify our mistakes and make the necessary adjustments to avert the horror of modern war. I pray that you will search your conscience and seek divine guidance to help you direct the course of our great Nation, in leading the world to peace, security, and justice and that you move to resurrect the United Nations to its intended place in history—to unite the world into a compact of nations, seeking to reach agreement, understanding, cooperation, and friendship, through world law and order, and finally to achieve worldwide disarmament and freeing man—once and for all—from the barbarism of war.

"A place in eternity is reserved for the man who succeeds in this great achievement. From where you are, in the most important position in history, the opportunity is at hand for you to do this everlasting service to humanity. The choice is yours. Choose well and take advantage of your great opportunity, and measure up to the challenge before you, and you will live in immortality. Pass it up and you will be just another forgotten man.

"The true road to freedom, Mr. President, is to return to F.D.R.'s Four Freedoms, long bypassed and forgotten. If we are to talk about freedom for the world it is well that we achieve freedom—political, social, and economic—for our own people first. Every public servant is conscious of his duties to secure these freedoms for our people, since it is written in our charters of liberty that the purpose of government is to promote the general welfare."

"Most sincerely yours,

"A MARTIN."

ANN ARBOR, MICH.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you, for being courageous enough to call a spade a spade about the armed action in North Vietnam. We so patently provoked this attack to justify taking action our militarists wanted to take all along. Now the Chinese say they can't stand by while their friends are attacked.

Please keep up your efforts to inform the country and to make the administration and Congress act in an honest, rather than a politically expedient, manner.

Sincerely yours,

L. RICHARD HOFFMAN.

LEAVENWORTH, KANS.,  
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Let's stop this madness about "limited wars" that kill our boys, just the same. We read that our bombers go and "shellac" North Vietnam and our ships roam the coasts of North Vietnam, "presumably" looking for trouble, what else? Our marines kill Cuban soldiers at Guantanamo (we heard it on the radio) and that's provoking war in anybody's language? What if Soviet ships "hit" the coast of the United States? Our people will be mad too. "Let's not do to others what we don't want to be done unto us." This will save our boys and the escalation of a war. Maybe the Soviets do not like Mao's intentions, but they can't let them go down the drain and that's coming surely in this world of trouble. The new policy of brinkmanship will bring only more and more wars with our

boys being bled all over the world. We don't see any freedom being looked upon in that way. If those foreign backward places want communism—let them find the hard way. Why shall we go and bail them out? I think some gun manufacturers want money out of the deal? Not with my boys. Let's send those manufacturers to fight in the first line of fire and they will quit. Let's send the gold H<sub>2</sub>O to fight as frontline infantrymen to see the vestitures of war for themselves. Let's send them to Vietnam instead of staying home making jackets, etc., etc. This war business is not good. A lot of people do not want to work in peacetime industries any more—"no money in it", they say. So, it is no good. It is very funny that there is not \$1 billion of dough for the war on poverty. There never seems to be enough dough for that and urgent needs in this U.S.A. Care of the oldsters, social security geared to the cost of living. No minimum wages for all, etc., etc. Not enough research on cancer, etc., etc. Not enough loans for small houses (in large scale) for the poverty stricken (less than \$2,000 a year). No legislation to curtail the monopolies of drugs. The high cost of going to the doctor, etc., etc. The darn discrimination. The Government doesn't have money for financing 1 million jobs at least. When private enterprise fails to provide jobs, it is up to the U.S. Government to dig in and make them without wars and let the rest of us pay the costs. (It's only just.) They can raise the Government employees' pay but they never seem to have enough to raise the minimum wage to \$1.50.

They never seem to have any dough or vote, for that. Yet it is very easy to vote 47 billion bucks for armaments. Didn't they say that we have enough bucks to take care of the globe? Well—well. Let's speak there loud and loud. The thinking Americans, etc., are behind you. Let's stop this uselessness before it's too late and mourning will fill the homes of lots of Americans, and let's not crop the hate of the world. We are learning in Vietnam what the French did. Obviously we are getting blamed for it all. The people of South Vietnam do not like their Government, otherwise they would be fighting like hell for us. Why get into a losing mess to earn the hate of all those people, for decades and all in the name of freedom? We like your guts there. We wish there were more like you. Let's say to Mr. Johnson to declare an offensive into the poverty front with a billion bucks now. Otherwise it's just another gimmick to deceive the voters like GOLDWATER said.

Mr. MORSE, become loud to avoid atomic war. We are traveling that way now. Worried.

EVANSTON, ILL.,  
August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: This evening I heard what you said on the "CBS Report."

I'm sure there are many, many people who agree with your sentiments but won't take the trouble to give you any support.

We should be grateful for sane thinkers, when too many of our national actions are inspired by militaristic thinking.

Sincerely yours,

ROLLAND H. LUCE.

HARBOR, WASH.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE B. MORSE,  
U.S. Senate Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: In view of the alarming developments in North and South Vietnam it is all the more imperative to redouble all efforts toward bringing about a negotiation of the whole of the southeast Asia problem.

Are these latest events in North Vietnam another instance of behind-the-scenes en-

gineering of the CIA? And is it not a fact that it is the United States of America which is the real aggressor in southeast Asia?

If it is the policy of this administration to become involved in a war with the Republic of China there is no possible way to know what this may lead to. It seems to me that the policies of the United States of America all around the world do not lean toward peace but toward war and remind me of the maxim that "whom the gods would destroy they first make mad."

I most sincerely hope that you will use all of your efforts to avert a disaster for the United States of America and for the whole world.

Sincerely,

F. R. SCOTT.

MADISON, WIS., August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: You deserve the Nation's thanks and congratulations for your courageous stand against the arbitrary and political actions of the President against Vietnam. We need more Senators who are statesmen enough to speak out exactly what they believe. You are about the only one left who can do it. Most private citizens, including many professors such as I, are afraid to speak out publicly, or sign their names to such a letter. Many young citizens are losing faith in their Government and won't make use of their first opportunity to vote.

NEW YORK, N.Y., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I heard your comment on TV and read it in the New York Times. It is encouraging to see such courage on the part of an elected official speaking the truth against almost overpowerful odds.

It has not been revealed too clearly in the press that there was a naval battle going on with U.S. ships watching South Vietnamize battle the north. It is wonderful that it was aired on national TV and in the Senate. They must close their ears to such talk.

I don't care what the Pope or bishops say, you spoke like Christ, speaking out against the multitude of hatred and self-righteousness.

I work as a piping designer in New York and I might get fired if my real views were known. That is how bad the atmosphere is here in the United States. If you go against the atmosphere of class and political hatred you are accused of being crazy by your family and are limited in the field of possible employment. What is all this talk about freedom.

The spirit of truth grant you great courage.

A. L. ROTONDI.

KENDALL PARK, N.J.,  
August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Hearty congratulations on your magnificent stand for moral integrity concerning the Vietnam situation. This entire business, revolting from the start, has now climaxed to new heights of hypocrisy and aggression.

I write as a retired university professor and clergyman (Baptist) and an old China hand, formerly on the faculty of West China Union University. Ever since a term paper as a Harvard undergraduate many years ago I have had keen interest in Indochina and have followed the course of developments closely.

In case it has not already occurred to you for use in your challenge of present policy, you may find the analogy between the role played by the United States of America today re Vietnam and that of England in our Civil War. Hence this special delivery letter.

1964

Repudiating the treaty of 1954 that provided for supervised pan-Vietnam elections, the southern states of Vietnam have seceded. As did England a century ago in aiding our South, we, the United States of America, finding the secession to our advantage, attempted to make it permanent. We honor Abraham Lincoln for preserving the Union even though it was at the cost of a terrible war.

How then can we without repudiating our own history charge aggression to Ho Chi-min for making use of any means he sees fit to restore the unity provided for by the founding treaty?

It is we who are the aggressors. Moreover, we proclaim that democracy is void of moral content as far as we are concerned: when free elections are to our advantage to preserve the image we desire we permit them; when they do not suit us we back up the tyrannies that know they would be overthrown if they allowed them.

You in daring to stand forth for morality in our foreign relations give hope that somehow this Nation may survive. At the moment the verdict of history is against us.

Respectfully yours,

J. SPENCER KENNARD, Jr.

DEAR SENATOR: The letter below, written to the Tacoma News Tribune, expresses the sentiments of many about the way we are antagonizing the sleeping forces of Asia.

HAROLD J. BASS.

"TACOMA, WASH.,  
August 4, 1964.

"THE LETTER-BOX EDITOR,  
Tacoma News-Tribune,  
Tacoma, Wash.

"DEAR EDITOR: There are certain similarities between the northern part of the Gulf of Mexico, to our south, and the Gulf of Tonkin, at the southeast of China. The Gulf of Mexico is bounded by Florida on the east, Texas on the northwest, and a stretch of our southland on the north. The Gulf of Tonkin is bounded by the Chinese island of Hainan on the east, China on the north, and China's ally, North Vietnam on the west. There is this difference, however, whereas the Gulf of Tonkin is only 150 miles across, the Gulf of Mexico, from St. Petersburg, Fla., to Corpus Christi, Tex., is six times that distance.

"Think, now, of how our hatred would be aroused if a Chinese 7th Fleet were to sail back and forth, year in year out, in a polling operation, anywhere from 15 to 25 miles off our southern border—in a gulf we had come to regard as our waters. Would we not look upon the action as a continual vaunting of their might and a continual taunting of our pride? Do we wonder if the Chinese and the North Vietnamese feel that way about our fleet patrolling their coast, 9,000 miles from ours?

"We have been asking for trouble there ever since we began to patrol the coast of China nearly 15 years ago. We are making an extra bid for it when we set about to patrol waters enclosed by Chinese territory. Is it not senseless to keep on goading a waking giant?

"Remember how much we loved the British when their ships patrolled off our coast a century and a half ago?

"We have no business continually putting the squeeze on Asia. In the end, we will have an unwanted explosion on our hands. Let us be warned by the flickering of sparks.

"Yours very sincerely,

"Rev. HAROLD J. BASS,  
The Hillside Community Church."

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I would like to praise your most courageous stand on the Vietnam conflict. It is clear that your positions on

the major issues of our time are based on objective, levelheaded thought rather than braggartism and blind patriotism. You will probably be subject to great criticism, but for that matter so were the men in our late President's Pulitzer Prize winning book when they dared to follow the dictates of their conscience, even if it meant taking an unpopular stand. In these times of "witch-hunts" that create an atmosphere unfavorable to dissension, and of chauvinistic superpatriotism that blind man's powers to see truths, yours is truly a "profile in courage."

Yours very truly,

VICTOR DINNERSTEIN.

OAK PARK, ILL.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I wish to congratulate you on your stand on the question of southeast Asia. I hope that all intelligent American citizens will join you in an effort to prevent our Government from undertaking any steps which will lead us into another war. At present the outlook seems almost hopeless.

Best wishes for success,

FRANK C. CLEVELAND.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: My family and I, in our hope for world peace, wholeheartedly support your statements indicating the folly of the military attack on North Vietnam.

Peaceful negotiation is the only answer—otherwise the world may go up in nuclear flames.

More power to you. Your courageous honesty is in the great tradition of Jefferson and Lincoln.

Yours truly,

MELVIN KRANTZLER.

CHICAGO, ILL.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I heartily agree with you, that the United States should call a conference of the U.N. I am a Democrat but don't think we should be in Vietnam or Korea. I think the Communists are trying to distract our attention from Cuba where they already have too much of a foothold.

Yours truly,

KATHERINE KALE.

SAUGUS, CALIF.,  
August 4, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
New Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR WAYNE: Don't let anyone back you down on Vietnam. Don't let us down.

Keep up the good fight.

JOHN HOFFMAN.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: To counter the smears that will be directed at you by the kept mouthpieces of the military-industrial-financial combine for your remarks today, please accept my sincere thanks on behalf of the voiceless, misled little people for the priceless contribution you made toward our country's survival. There seems to be but a handful in the Senate with your courage and real patriotism.

When Alexander Hamilton gave birth to my little outfit, 174 years ago, he said, "It

must be a military organization because of the nice sense of honor a military man must possess." After covering the Pentagon from 1947 to 1956 for Douglas Aircraft Co. and watching the spending habits of our military procurement personnel, as well as the effect on our military brass, of unlimited expense accounts, both in uniform and when on industry payroll, I wondered where the nice sense of honor had gone.

Now we are on the brink of a bottomless chasm resulting from the covert operations of our intelligence community. You know as I know that violent military action may please top brass snug in their deep caverns but the flower of our youth will die a needless death and perhaps with them there will disappear from this earth the Western civilization our people have created during the past few thousand years.

A book written by James Warbins in 1954, "United States in a Changing World," has a most interesting conclusion (p. 483, Lib. of Cong. card 54-10506):

"The teachings of Jesus Christ have now become imperatives of survival."

The United States cannot alone save civilization, but by default of affirmative leadership it can come perilously close to insuring civilization's end.

There is even a lesson to learn in John Scall's story as it broke this week, telling how anxious the U.S.S.R. representatives were in 1962 to prevent war.

It was the Republican 80th Congress that laid the foundation for the cold war with the Air Power Board (Finletter) and the Contract Act (now called Armed Services Contract Act) permitting risk-free negotiated Government contracts and of course the NME putting the CIA and separate Air Force on the statute books. Isn't it a remarkable coincidence that two men (Dulles and McCone) who have made most of their fortunes from defense industry business have headed CIA for many years? You can also read in GOLDWATER's speeches and GOP platform perpetual spending for defense.

Sincerely,

GEORGE B. GEELY,  
Captain, U.S. Coast Guard (Retired).

WESTERN SPRINGS, ILL.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: Thank you for your courageous efforts to inform the American population about our Government's ruthless policies in Vietnam.

It is revolting to hear officials prate about freedom in South Vietnam. There has never been an election since the United States has taken control in that unfortunate country and none is planned. Its people have only the freedom to die so that the United States can save face.

The peace of the United States has become the peace of death. The action of our leaders is completely inexcusable, barbaric, outrageous.

Mr. and Mrs. F. L. CRAWFORD.

RINELANDER, WIS.,  
August 4, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I want to convey my endorsement of your view on Vietnam. It coincides with impressions I have long had that the United States today is constantly looking for trouble and in the most belligerent and bellicose country of all as well as entirely hypocritical in that we do many things that we criticize when others do it. I am a Legion member.

Yours very truly,

C. T. G. CARLSON.

August 8

LONG ISLAND CITY, N.Y.  
August 5, 1964.President JOHNSON,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I have just heard reports of our retaliation on the PT boat attacks.

What are we doing in the Gulf of Tonkin? This gulf is surrounded by Communist territory. It is their backyard. Our presence there with warships is provocative. As far as I can see we are starting trouble. The kind of trouble that will cost more American lives and drain more of our resources.

I have not heard one argument which justifies such a sacrifice.

Why is this area not neutralized under U.N. supervision?  
Why?RENE A. REEVES,  
Former Air Force Pilot.

(Copies to Senators KEATING, JAVITS, FULBRIGHT, HUMPHREY, and the New York Times.)

DEAR SIR: I hope you will oppose Johnson's Vietnam policy. Indochina should be neutralized. How can the U.S. people get the facts on this filthy, futile war? Can you help?

A. MOREAU.

PETALUMA, CALIF.

I support your general outlook on the Vietnam situation. As you note, what would be the reaction in the United States and Mexico were foreign warships to patrol indefinitely the Caribbean? Whatever is wrong in the North Vietnam and Chinese behavior the United States is not 100 percent right, in its behavior in that area. It does not appear that regardless of years of military activity in South Vietnam, and the spending of large sums, the U.S. policy has made any progress in altering an obsolete and oppressive social, economic and political situation in South Vietnam. If such progress would be made consistently, perhaps more opposition to the Vietcong would appear than has so far appeared.

J. A. HAMILTON.

WILMETTE, ILL.

MILWAUKEE, Wis.,  
August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We support you on your stand concerning Vietnam. We were glad to hear you speak out against U.S. action in southeast Asia yesterday. Your recent article in the Progressive did an excellent job pointing out historically what we have been doing as opposed to what we should have been doing. Let's get this issue into the U.N.

Sincerely,

LEO and IVY NEVALA.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Your recent statements in the Los Angeles Times regarding our foreign policy makes much sense to me. How much more do we have to exhaust our domestic economy to promote special interests abroad?

You are not crying in the dark Senator—many people we know feel just as you do. What can we do to oppose foolish foreign spending? Or must we learn by an economic collapse?

Yours truly,

Mr. and Mrs. NORMAN JENSEN.

GLENDALE, CALIF.,  
August 2, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: It is a real pleasure to know that at least one Member of the

Senate is taking an enlightened look at the problem in Vietnam. I hope that you will continue to urge negotiation, rather than war.

It is my feeling that the United States, as well as the Communists, has been unrealistic in southeast Asia. I hope that rightwingers and superpatriots will not turn Vietnam into another Korea (or worse). Please keep talking, many of the men my age (early 20's), probably most, support your stand.

Sincerely yours,

DAVID H. JACKSON.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 5, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: A sense of relief came to me as I heard your viewpoints being expressed tonight on CBS regarding the Vietnam crisis. Thank you so very much for trying to maintain openminded, critical appraisals of this crisis.

What a shame that our radio, TV, newspaper, informational service presents such shallow, meager coverage of the essential and relevant preliminary actions of both sides. Naturally these factors are most important to know.

Thanks also for expressing that empathy should be used in evaluating the severity of the problems.

Sincerely,

ERLING RONDHE.

AUGUST 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Thank God for a man of sense in this crazy world—made up of insane people to make it so.

I waited all day to hear a dissenting voice, finally this evening on CBS I heard you make the first sense of the day.

I saw a map in a newspaper, and like you, I was horrified to see the position of our two destroyers off the shore of North Vietnam.

I chanced to meet three strangers who feel like you and I do about our involvement and dangerous position we have put ourselves and the whole world in.

Please continue to raise your voice and vote against such insane actions and we will also let ourselves be heard from.

With deep respect,

AMIE GREEN.

AUGUST 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I agree with you on your courageous stand that the southeast Asia problem should be discussed at the conference table.

In the nuclear age we must carefully choose our actions.

Yours respectfully,

Mrs. LILY STROBL.

PITTSFIELD, MASS.,  
August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am writing to tell you how thoroughly I agree with your position on the present United States-Vietnam situation. The United States is acting so unwisely as well as immorally that I am sick at heart. The bombings of North Vietnam that took place today just brings us closer to a war of giant proportions, perhaps with China itself.

I hope you will be able to state your position again, in spite of administration actions. A negotiated truce, with all parties who are involved taking part (including China), seems to be the only possible way out of this wretched situation.

Thank you for speaking out.

Mrs. ALBERT ROWE.

THE NITTANY LION INN OF THE  
PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY,  
University Park, Borough of  
State College, Pa., August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I saw the televised version of your statement opposing the joint resolution to be made in support of President Johnson's policy and actions in southeast Asia.

Congratulations on your courage in the wave of emotionalism that sweeps even the usually enlightened off their feet in this kind of situation. I'm with you.

Sincerely,

JOHN WITTHALL.

TENAFLY, N.J.,  
August 6, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Capitol Hill,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: My family and I are terribly upset over the actions of the United States in Vietnam. We heard your statement on television last night and wish to express our wholehearted support and agreement. This aggressive and imperialistic behavior will never be tolerated by the rest of the world. We beg you to continue your cry against this wrong we have committed. Only brave men such as you will prevent us from being plunged into a horrible war which we do not want and will not survive.

I am a student of Indonesian and Far Eastern studies at Cornell University, and know the futility of our trying to change the inevitable course of events in Asia. Our aggressive intervention will only hurt our already damaged foreign image. I have also studied in Germany, and know that such actions are welcome food for East German and other Communist propaganda.

Congress may be supporting President Johnson, but the people of the United States are supporting you, Senator MORSE. We want peace, not war. Please keep on fighting for our right to live.

Yours truly,

Mrs. DIETMAR ROTHER.

NEW YORK, N.Y.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Bravo. I congratulate you on your courageous stand vis a vis the question of our Navy in the Orient.

Sincerely,

RUTH BOCCOUR.

STRATFORD, CONN.,  
August 5, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.:

Your courageous opposition to the U.S. unilateral acts of aggression against North Vietnam have earned for you my deepest respect and admiration. At a time when the majority of Government leaders are indulging in expedient jingoism and warmongering your efforts in behalf of peace and sanity in Asia offer hope to the many Americans who oppose America's brutal and shameful war policy in Vietnam.

My wife and I support you 100 percent in your stand on American policy in Vietnam. Moreover, I am absolutely convinced that it has been the United States that has violated the 1954 Geneva Agreements (which Dulles refused to sign) and that peace can be restored only through negotiations among all nations concerned.

Respectfully yours,

DAVID KELLY.

THE JEWISH CENTER,  
Princeton, N.J., August 6, 1964.Senators WAYNE MORSE and ERNEST GRUENING,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATORS MORSE AND GRUENING: Though politically impossible to adopt one's



1964

18141

Senators at the polls, may I assure you that in relation to our tragic and appallingly unjustified increased involvement in southeast Asia, you are my Senators.

I do hope that you will continue your courageous attempts to inject some measure of self-criticism, humility, and respect for the facts in this increasingly menacing situation.

With deep appreciation for your efforts, I am,

Most respectfully yours,  
Rabbi EVERETT GENDLER.

STATEN ISLAND, N.Y., August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to thank you for your forceful articulate opposition to the President's resolution and to our whole position in Vietnam.

I have written to my own Senators expressing my support for your position, but I am not encouraged to think that our policy will be changed.

In the midst of such madness, though, it is somewhat heartening to know that at least one U.S. Senator raises his voice in protest.

Sincerely,

JOAN MANGUM.

TUFTS UNIVERSITY,  
Medford, Mass., August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for saying what you did about the role of our country in southeast Asia.

I share your point of view but I assure you it is considered "way out" by most of my acquaintances.

Sincerely,

W. I. HARBER.

AUGUST 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE: Your views on our present crisis are those of all I know, and you are to be congratulated for having the courage of your convictions. Continue to fight for those of us who seem to have no say in the matter of our own destruction.

Mrs. GEORGE V. HARVEY, Jr.

TENAFLY, N.J.

RICHWOOD, N.J.,  
August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I admire your courageous stand on the Vietnam issue. It is a pity that your views on this and other issues are not made better known to the public.

I believe that our foreign policymakers in this area of the world should ask the following questions:

1. Why are our interests best served by "rightists" or military governments?
2. How can we help the peasants meet their needs for a better life without supporting Communists?

3. Why can't the United States, the world's most powerful nation, afford to be Christian-like and turn the other cheek sometimes with the hope that this will exhibit a more profound concern for the peoples of the world?

4. What cost will future generations of Americans pay for our current policies which seem to be against social forces?

Let me encourage you in a role which I believe is contributing to the cause of democracy in this country.

Very sincerely,

BENJAMIN G. HITCHNER.

WAUKEGAN, ILL.,  
August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MORSE: Thank heavens we have at least one man in the Senate who isn't

afraid to stand up and be counted against the dirty war in southeast Asia to protect the rubber and tin barons.

Your courage is appreciated by the undersigned and many more who are afraid to speak out.

Thanks again.

Yours truly,

LESTER F. COLLINS.

WOODBURY, CONN.,  
August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Last evening I tuned in the TV in the midst of your statement on the Vietnam situation on NBC's Special Report. I am so grateful there is someone willing to speak out as you did. I admire your courage when everyone else seems to just fall in line and say the same thing the next person said.

And what you say and the stand you take in this Vietnam situation makes sense to me and I am sure is nearer truth and the will of God.

This is just to let you know there is one more citizen who is deeply, deeply grateful for your voice being raised against the military involvement in affairs in Vietnam.

It was like a breath of fresh air to hear you speak from your heart and not be just saying what everyone else was saying.

With all good wishes.

Respectfully yours,

EBEN T. CHAPMAN.

ST. PAUL'S COLLEGE,  
Lawrenceville, Va., August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: You are to be heartily commended for your forthright statements about the situation in southeast Asia. Yours is a lone voice of reason crying out in the wilderness of bipartisan blind militarism. Peace-loving people all over the world should be heartened by your courageous statements.

Sincerely yours,

WM. S. SAMUEL III.

JERSEY CITY, N.J.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Just a brief note to let you know that your stand on the Vietnam crisis was deeply respected and appreciated. I was so happy to learn that there is at least one American in Congress who is not afraid to stand up for his beliefs.

It is essential that this war in Vietnam does not become a full-scale war; we need more men like you to see that this does not happen.

Thank you.

Yours truly,

Mrs. MOLLIE SHORR.

AUGUST 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: Bravo for your stand on the South Vietnam crisis. I fully support your position. I have so indicated this to my Congressmen, Senators Keating and Javits, and President Johnson.

Keep up the fight.

Respectfully,

MARTIN BLANE.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Your courageous, principled and effective fight against our belligerent posture in southeast Asia, prevents our war hawks from going all out in a war that could end in a nuclear holocaust.

As the grandfather of three I will support your position and also inform my grandchildren (the two who understand) that they have great men in Congress who will fight to prevent a nuclear war which would destroy the world.

All power to you. Carry on.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

ABE WEISBURD.

AUGUST 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: You are to be congratulated on your lone, courageous stand against the provocative policy our Government has been pursuing in southeast Asia.

Our growing intervention in a highly questionable situation made armed conflict inevitable. Our Government has never satisfactorily explained to the American people its involvement with a series of South Vietnamese governments which seem to lack even the support of their own people.

It is significant that responsible leaders in Western Europe, of all shades of political opinion, have little sympathy for our meddling in southeast Asia.

With both GOLDWATER and Johnson committed to warlike policies, you may wish to consider running for the Presidency on an independent ticket. You would be giving those of us who oppose involvement in another Korea an opportunity to at least cast a vote of protest.

Sincerely,

RODNEY R. ADLER.

MIDDLE VILLAGE, N.Y.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to express, as a layman, admiration for your courage and deep understanding manifested in your recent statement in connection with the proposed resolution on Vietnam.

All sober-minded people will be grateful for your firm stand in the face of overwhelming opposition to your courageous stand.

In these troubled times, your voice is heartening to all people of good will who pray fervently for peace.

The State of Oregon should feel pride that they have elected you to your high office.

Sincerely yours,

SARA H. SHERMAN.

HUBBARD WOODS, III.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

My DEAR SENATOR: Thank you, Thank you. Thank you.

ATLANTIS MARSHALL.

PEOPLES TEMPLE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: On behalf of our parish of 300 constituents, I want to thank and compliment you for taking the forthright moral stand you did in reference to the present Vietnam crisis.

The vast majority of our parishioners and staff are absolutely awed by and eternally grateful for your courageous statesmanship.

Very respectfully,

Pastor JAMES W. JONES.

LAS VEGAS, NEV.,  
August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR: I want to thank you and I feel that this entire Nation owes you a debt of gratitude. Yours is the one voice of reason among the hotheads and warmongers there in Washington, D.C. What are the leaders of this country trying to do, turn

August 8

the entire world to ashes? It seems silly that PT boats of North Vietnam would attack our ships, I don't believe it happened. Sounds like a put-up job to me. I think we have been trying to widen the war there for some time.

You know Senator I think this whole war in southeast Asia is to keep us from watching what goes on in places like Harlem, Jersey City, Mississippi, etc. I am a white man but it is a disgrace the way colored people are treated. It seems to me it is time to send the Army into places where they are bombing little girls in church instead of thousands of miles from our shores. Keep up the good work.

Yours with respect,

NORMAN W. TEMPLETON.

SILVER SPRING, Md.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE, FROM OREGON: I have visitors now in District of Columbia area. They came from Oregon. It is because I hold you in very high esteem that I write to you and pray to God Almighty there should not be any wars anymore. I lost my husband the Second World War. He is also buried in Arlington like J.F.K., who was a good President. I'm a sick woman. I had a heart attack and I'm ill and don't know where to turn. Do advise me, write to me.

It seems there is no end to war talk and real warfare. The world has gone mad since Hitlerism. We are all sick people. What is to be done? We all want peace, so do the Russians. Why all this horrible talk. Please do write to give me courage to get well.

Mrs. L. DEMBROW.

UNIONTOWN, OHIO,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Congress of the United States,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations again on your courageous stand on South Vietnam. I wish that there were more peace loving politicians like yourself in government. I wish that there was more that we could do to persuade others to see the wrongness of the war mongering policy that the administrations have been following for 10 years in southeast Asia. Please make it clear to the President and his Cabinet that he does not have the support of everyone in his belligerent warlike policy and meddling in an area which is none of our business.

Sincerely,

CONRAD GUTERMUTH, Jr.

HUNTINGTON PARK, CALIF.,  
August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Having followed your viewpoint on the southeast Asian problem, and having studied the situation, let me encourage you in your vote in the Senate. I agree with you.

JOE BURTON.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.,  
August 5, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Please accept my heartfelt thanks for your honest words, which I heard expressed on TV tonight, in reference to our bombing of bases in North Vietnam. I keep wondering what our fleet and our soldiers are doing so far from home, and how the Asians can be guilty of aggression toward us.

My best wishes for your continued good health so you can continue your good work. It is good to hear a sane voice in this crazy world.

Respectfully,

IDA H. SPER.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

HON. SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations. What more can I say, except that there must be thousands who agree with you, but are afraid to voice their opinions. Dissent. I need not tell you what one is called. Enclosing leaflet.

Sincerely,

MISS VERONA ALTMAN.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: This is the first letter I am writing to a Member of Congress, to express my appreciation for him. In these days of moral depression and of mortal danger for the world, you are defending gallantly and cleverly the principles of reason, morality and truthfulness in public life. If posterity will remember who sat in Congress these days, your name will be among the very few meriting a place in history. It is bad for the United States and for the world that there is no other WAYNE MORSE in Congress.

Yours faithfully,

ROBERT MAJOR.

Writer, Journal, Economist from  
Hungary.

JULY 8, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR WAYNE MORSE: We wish to commend your courageous stand in voting against the appointment of Gen. Maxwell Taylor as ambassador to South Vietnam, and your stand in opposing U.S. policy in South Vietnam in general.

We are very much concerned that the present policy will lead to war.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. and Mrs. FRANK KINCES.

CORAL GABLES, FLA.,  
July 9, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Your courageous words regarding the war in Vietnam are very heartening. I surely hope that many other Senators and Representatives will follow your lead. I am sure that you are right in feeling that the foreign policy of our country needs to be drastically changed.

With sincere thanks for your courage.

PEARL EWALD.

CHATSWORTH, CALIF.,  
July 9, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE.

DEAR SIR: I have read only scanty coverage on your speeches critical of our military policy in southeast Asia, substituting for a political policy reflecting our democratic ideals.

I am extremely indignant that the monopoly press of Los Angeles is our only expression of the freedom of the press so nobly taught to our school children. The brief life of the Western edition of the New York Times clearly indicates that the press is free to those who are able to satisfy the demands and the policy of the advertisers.

Please send me copies of your speeches before the Senate dealing with our situation in southeast Asia.

Although not your constituent I very much appreciate your declarations for the liberal point of view. Pity there aren't more men of vision and courage. Best wishes for good health and political stamina.

Z. EDELSON.

SCHENECTADY, N.Y.,  
July 11, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR: I appreciate hearing your discussion on this Vietnam question over the radio some days ago. There was more discussion on the same problem over station WOR about 3 a.m. and many things have come to light—mainly that this is more of an uprising of the people who are fed up with present-day rulers. I don't want my children involved fighting for any part of this nonsense as I now see it.

BEN COPPOLA.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We want you to know we are supporting you on the issue of not extending war in southeast Asia and thank you for working for the good of mankind.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. PHILIP GOLDBERG.

THE FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH OF  
LOS ANGELES,  
Los Angeles, Calif., July 8, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Could you have your secretary send to Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman of this church a couple of copies of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in which you insert letters you have received supporting your stand on the Vietnam situation. We understand that a letter by Mr. Fritchman and others in this area were included.

Thank you. If there is any charge, please let us know.

SUSAN I. HARDYMAN,  
Secretary to the Minister.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
July 4, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MORSE: I heartily applaud all efforts to get our country out of the futile, dirty, ill-considered war in Vietnam, as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Mrs. GERTRUDE K. STOUGHTON.

PLAYA DEL REY, CALIF.,  
July 11, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Just a short note to tell you that we have been reading excerpts from your speeches on the Vietnam situation in I. F. Stone's weekly, and strongly approve of your stand. We heartily hope you will continue to act as a conscience to an unconscionable aspect of our foreign policy.

Very sincerely yours,

NORMAN and ANNE COHEN.

JULY 9, 1964.

My DEAR SENATOR: We all greatly admire your courage and your wisdom in constantly stating your views on South Vietnam.

We have no moral right in sending an expeditionary force to this country even if it were "safe" to do so. As it is, South Vietnam can easily lead to a world holocaust.

Keep talking sense to the American people and maybe enough of us will see the light.

Sincerely,

SHEEDAN F. BEDON.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
July 10, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

My DEAR SENATOR: We love you. You are a man of great courage, integrity, and intellect. Your record in the Senate, the stand you have taken, reflects all those sterling qualities.

We couldn't agree with you more, Senator, when you said, on June 23, or thereabouts, "that the United States is the greatest threat to world peace." Or, when you said: "That the appointment of Gen. M. Taylor to the ambassadorial post in South Vietnam reflects

1964

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

18143

"undue influence the Pentagon has come to exercise on the White House in the Johnson administration." Or, and: "The American people apparently will have a choice between degrees in November." Oh, how right you are, Senator. This, may I humbly say, has been our contention for many years, and especially for this forthcoming election. "Tweedledum and tweedledee."

How very, very unfortunate for the United States, as well as the rest of the world, that you, and men of your caliber, are so sadly outnumbered, the general public ill-informed, misinformed, and deliberately misled by all the channels of communication, and the very evil forces that are predominant in our land.

If it is any consolation to you, dear Senator MORSE, you still have a good number of such a small voice as ours to carry the banners for you, crying out in the wilderness for human compassion, understanding, and peace. It is a great consolation to us that we have you, and a few men of your caliber to represent us. If only we had a choice in selecting our President, which we definitely don't; all claims to the contrary notwithstanding, you Senator would be our choice. But, it's like whistling in the wind, to the great sorrow of the whole wide world.

Our involvement in South Vietnam is monstrous. We are consistently on the side of the military dictatorships. Wherever, and whenever, there is a popular uprising of the people, in any part of the world, to secure freedom, bread, sanitary conditions, education, in one word a decent standard of living, our CIA becomes the hangman.

We have written to President Johnson a number of times expressing our strong opposition to this carnage in South Vietnam pointing out how bloody our hands are getting, the waste of human resources, as well as material ones. All these billions of dollars that we do not hesitate for one moment, or one vote, to spend for bloodletting, the support of dictatorships, counterrevolutions, and let our own people struggle on without adequate medical care, proper school facilities, housing, jobs. What kind of a mentality, or human being, is this that can underwrite billions for destruction building H-bombs, missiles, all the murderous implements to wage war on their brothers. Cain versus Abel again.

If the world is allowed to survive, you, Senator MORSE, will have earned the undying gratitude of multitudes, whether they know it or not. We do not believe in a "hereafter" in the organized religious sense, and I am sure no one can promise entry into heaven, not even St. Paul (I rather wonder as to whether his ashes look any different than mine eventually will). But, I do believe the memory of your efforts to stop the world from a complete holocaust will remain immortal, and a world will revere your memory and pay you proper homage, something that they should be doing right now.

All the blessings be with you from your devoted, loyal admirers.

The DUNLAPS.

DETROIT, MICH.,  
July 14, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: About 15 people were united here this afternoon to discuss their grave concern on the war in South Vietnam and Laos.

I reported on your grand, courageous campaign and on your speeches you had sent me. The majority of the group resolved to write you, to assure you of their wholehearted support and to let you know that they are firmly on your side.

So do I, because the press and the other mass media with few exceptions, are trying

to kill your fight by silence. I would get help in my personal endeavor if you would send me copies of your speeches made later than June 4.

Gratefully yours,

ALICE HERZ.

MIAMI BEACH, FLA.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: My favorite Senator, I want to commend you on your remarks of June 23, to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. If only our President had your kind of thinking.

May you continue with your good works and I wish you health and joy, have great admiration for a Senator like you.

Sincerely and respectfully yours,

MARGARET E. BRILL.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,

July 15, 1964.

SENATOR MORSE: I would like to congratulate you for, and add my support to your speech in the Senate on the subject of South Vietnam. I feel both the administration policy and Republican opposition ideas on southeast Asia are incorrect. I would hope that you and any Congressmen that share your viewpoint would continue to be very vocal on this issue. Would you please send me a copy of your speech if it is available.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

MILES H. ANDERSON, JR.

REDDING, CALIF.,

July 11, 1964.

HON. SENATOR MORSE: I wish to commend you on your strong stand concerning the situation we are at present embroiled in in southeast Asia. Especially admirable is your outspoken way of assessing the U.S. military approach to the problem(s).

I have resolved to help you by writing to others who are in position to put their shoulders to the wheel at your level of control (legislators and executive).

Yours truly,

RICHARD E. SMITH.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.,

July 14, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Please accept my highest commendations. In these days of political absurdities and military forces it is highly rewarding to hear even one man speak forth with reason, integrity and compassion. I'm sure that you have been called every name in the book, including a Communist, but, as far as I can see, you suffer only from one fault. You are a human being. But if this is a fault, it's quite commonly held. Most Americans seem to think that this trait of humanity is peculiar only to them, or at least only to the white races. I rest more easily knowing that there is one man on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee who realizes that America is not infallible. Keep up the good work, sir. You have many supporters all over.

Very truly yours,

PATRICIA KRUGER.

SAN ANSELMO, CALIF.,

July 13, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: Thank you again for your outspoken statements on U.S. southeast Asian policy. The National Guardian and the Liberal Democrat both gave reports on your well spoken criticism of the dangerous steps being pursued. I especially applaud your comments on; first, Senator FULBRIGHT, attempt to rationalize U.S. outlawing in southeast Asia;

second, the "kept press", and third, U.S. attacks on Laos as "acts of war."

You are in the front leading what is becoming a strong reaction against the present policy.

Gratefully yours,

CLARE McKEAGE.

GREAT FALLS, MONT.,

July 14, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: The best news we have had recently was your statement regarding foreign aid. Please continue to do what you can to stop this giving away of our taxes. We need our money. Let's stop this foolish program and let some of those people around the world giving our money away get some other kind of a job.

Another thing: Please get us out of Vietnam. The paper said this morning 80 percent of South Vietnam was in the hands of the Reds. That leaves us fighting for only about 3 million and they don't want us to govern them.

Sincerely,

A. F. STROBEHN.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,

July 13, 1964.

The Honorable Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: Through this letter I am registering my sincere admiration for the courageous and enlightened stand taken by you in regards to the American role in South Vietnam. I fully support the immediate and complete withdrawal of all U.S. Armed Forces and equipment from that nation.

The present situation there demands an honest and realistic treatment of the matter based solely upon the moral principle of self-determination by those people to determine the form of government desired by them and agreeable to their indigenous climate.

I do fervently hope that you will now champion the cause for human decency vigorously in the high echelons of power to desist from the further pursuit of senseless slaughter and suffering visited upon this people under the misnomer of American "leadership and prestige." Rest assured, sir, that I for one shall stand beside you to bring order to our hypocritical international demeanor.

Very sincerely yours,

PHILLIP PADAYHAG.

GREENFIELD, MASS.,

July 15, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We appreciate your effort in opposing the war in southeast Asia. It is unfortunate that the stand you have taken has been ignored by the Senate and the press.

Thank you for the courage you have shown.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. WALLACE A. JONES.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.,

July 11, 1964.

Senator MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to write this line of strong support and very real gratitude for your stand in regard to the war in South Vietnam.

I, too, am disturbed by the actions of the U.S. Government in the choice of the Ambassador to replace Lodge, the overflights and bombings in Laos by U.S. planes, and the statements of Secretary Dean Rusk.

More power to you.

Yours gratefully,

The Rt. Rev. W. APPLETON LAWRENCE,  
Diocese of Western Massachusetts.

18144

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

August 8

JULY 13, 1964.

NEW HYDE PARK, N.Y.,

August 6, 1964.

DEAR SIR: As my Government reminds me of the actions of another Government shelling America, Spain with a pocket battleship almost 66 years ago in retaliation for aggression, I find comfort that at least one American of stature—you, sir—has the sheer "guts," honesty, and decency to speak the truth.

Thank you, Senator MORSE.

Very truly yours,

SANDY HERSHENSON.

NEW ULM, MINN.,

July 14, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We do want to compliment you on your views in regard to Vietnam. We haven't yet found one person in accord with our present policy there.

Most all seem to feel that we must be losing friends in other nations when we take to the United Nations problems we think will win there and bypass the U.N. and go it alone when the opposite is true. It surely is not being consistent.

The cost in money as well as American lives is tremendous. It is too bad the American citizen has no opportunity to vote on this issue.

Yours very truly,

CHAS. A. KORTH.

MONTEBELLO, CALIF.,

July 13, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: About 2 weeks ago, I read in the Los Angeles Times that you had just returned from a briefing in Washington, D.C. You reported it appears we are headed for a war in south Asia—probably with China, and that you feel only public opinion can stop it.

I am fully in accord with you and would appreciate some suggestions as to what a layman like myself can do.

Sincerely,

CLARENCE J. CINKEL.

P.S.—I am sorry I have misplaced the newspaper item, hence cannot quote it exactly.

NEW HAVEN PUBLIC SCHOOLS,  
New Haven, Conn., July 13, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to express my admiration for your courage and good sense in speaking against the war in Vietnam and for taking the issue to the United Nations, where it clearly belongs. Apparently not many people in the Government have as much sense, and the courage to speak out on controversial issues, but I hope and think that it will become increasingly obvious that the war in Vietnam is morally wrong as well as unsuccessful and potentially terribly dangerous, and perhaps then there will be more support for your position.

This country became great, and has remained great in spite of the many temptations to take the easy or violent ways, because people like you have had the good sense to see what needs to be done and the courage to take on the responsibility of trying to get it done. I, and I am sure many others, am very grateful to you.

Sincerely,

BARBARA S. STOCKING.

KENT PARK, MARSHFIELD, MASS.,  
July 11, 1964.

The Honorable WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: My husband and I heartily support you in your warnings against the crimes we are committing in

southeast Asia and in your pleas for sanity, decency, and a measure of morality.

We are revolted by the President's talk of "a bitter struggle for the freedom of a friend." He knows better. And we had truly expected better of him. I hate hypocrisy.

Thank you for your speech before the Senate June 29, and for the excerpt I have read from your recent letter to Norman Thomas—and indeed for all your outspoken efforts, past and present.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. KURT BUSIEK.

CINCINNATI, OHIO,

July 12, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: We heard you on the television program—"Questions and Answers."

We admired your stand concerning Vietnam, and pray you may succeed in bringing about a change in handling this important situation.

Keep up the good work, it is much needed at this time.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. and Mrs. HARRY F. STURM.

JULY 11, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.:

I would like to express my strong support for your statements in regard to the war in southeast Asia, and particularly those expressed in your recent letter to Norman Thomas.

RUSSELL N. HUNTER.

JULY 13, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I write to you, as I have written to your colleagues in the Senate, to say that I take hope in the matter of your stand on the Government's policy in southeast Asia.

Always when I see your name come up in matters that astound and discourage me I take hope that you make it known you are aware of implications. I get the distinct impression that you do not sit in the Senate with folded arms dozing away; that you are "on duty."

Even a simpleton, politically, would be able to see from the comings and goings, reports, conferences, and all the rest that the southeast Asia undertaking can only end in a fiasco. I don't know the intricacies of the whole undertaking but I don't like the smells arising from it.

But let me say again that your stand is a great encouragement to those who see the southeast Asia matter differently than does the present administration.

Sincerely yours,

SADA GORDON.

JULY 14, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I, too, believe it is immoral and illegal to engage in war against a downtrodden and illiterate Vietnamese people while ironically we don't even protect our own citizens who go into Mississippi to teach others how to read and write.

Your outspoken and courageous stand against the war in Vietnam gives us fresh hope and vigor and I am writing to all my Representatives urging them to support your position.

Sincerely,

MARJORIE FEREN.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SIR: For a long time I have been asking myself the question: "Is there not one man in Washington who objects to the constant hymn of hate Cuba and the persistent warmongering against South Vietnam?"

I subscribe to a weekly paper in which I read an excerpt of your speech on the Senate floor on May 20, 1964, to which I fully agree and it answers my question.

How can the invaders of Cuba hope to establish an improved regime there when they are creating confusion in our own Government? Can they teach them economics to operate a debt-free regime when we are submerged in an insurmountable debt? Can they show them how to have full employment when we are burdened with yearly graduates which we cannot place? How about juvenile delinquency and racism and killing of Negroes with impunity? How many friends will be have in the world scene if the saber rattlers invade?

If we would have stayed clear entirely from South Vietnam that difficulty would have been settled among the natives southeast Asia a long time ago and would have saved thousands of lives. The most evil man today in Washington is McNamara, who persistently calls for stepping up the war as if it were our responsibility to win, when we have no business for our presence there whatsoever and spending millions of dollars daily for no purpose. We are using the cruel and inhumane napalm which should be outlawed in all warfare.

Get out of South Vietnam.

Truly yours,

GERHARD ULRICH.

PULLMAN, WASH.,

July 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Attached is a copy of my letter to President Johnson. In view of your clear and most refreshing stand on U.S. policy in southeast Asia, I thought that you might be interested in the views of one citizen on this matter. An outline of my views are contained in the attached letter to the President. In speaking to you, I think that it is sufficient to say that I wholeheartedly support your position in this matter.

Unfortunately, but not too surprisingly, it is rather difficult to get regular, accurate reports of your statements on Asia, U.S. policy, etc. I have had to rely primarily upon the reports of the weekly National Guardian (New York). Do you normally have copies of your statements available for distribution? If so, would it be possible for my name to be placed on your distribution list? I would certainly appreciate it.

I have talked to many people about U.S. involvement in southeast Asia, and the overwhelming majority of these people have indicated that they fail to see any justification for U.S. involvement there. They are also quite strongly opposed to any extension (indeed, they feel that we shouldn't even be there now), and dread the prospects of a full-scale Korea-type engagement. These people are college students, barbers, military men, and even GOLDWATER supporters—in other words, just John Doe citizens. Yet it seems to be amazingly difficult for the voices of these people to be heard and acknowledged in and by our elected officials. It will be interesting to see what results, if any, my letter to President Johnson elicits.

I would like to commend you for your courage in daring to speak out on a matter

1964

of such crucial importance to all of us. Your courage is especially commendable in view of the fact that your position runs counter to current "correct" positions. Although you are elected by the people of Oregon, be assured that when you speak you are expressing the views of many millions of Americans throughout the Nation—Americans who, like me (Florida), are represented by men failing to measure up to your high standards of courage and integrity.

Sincerely,

BENAJAH E. SEALE, Jr.

[COPY]

PULLMAN, WASH.,  
July 10, 1964.President LYNDON B. JOHNSON,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. JOHNSON: Until now I have, as most Americans, sat back apathetically and bemoaned the mess in southeast Asia, wondering when "those people" in Washington were going to square away, look at facts, and cease meddling in the affairs of Asians among Asians. But the situation continues to deteriorate, the United States continues to become ever more deeply involved, and "those people" in Washington appear to be as myopic as ever.

I have lived in Asia for more than 4 years, am married to an Asian, have long been a serious student of Asian politics and economics, and have had many long and detailed discussions with Asians in this country attending school. My own studies and observations, and the consensus among most of the Asians I have talked to would tend to support Senator WAYNE MORSE's contention that: "I am now convinced that the greatest threat to the peace of the world is the United States. I am convinced that if the United States continues to follow the course of action implied (in your) briefing, we are headed for a major war in Asia, and we will be hated for the next 500 years by the overwhelming majority of mankind." The briefing referred to is that given to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on June 23, 1964, by Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, and then-Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and now Ambassador to South Vietnam, Gen. Maxwell Taylor.

I realize that it is entirely possible that there may be facts relevant to the southeast Asian, and especially Vietnam-Laos-Cambodia situation of which Senators MORSE, FULBRIGHT, CHURCH, PELL, PROXMIRE, HUMPHREY, GRUENING, and others, Asians, and myself are not aware. But as a taxpayer whose dollars are supporting this war, and as a member of the Armed Forces of the United States who may well be called upon to actively participate in this war, I feel that I have a right to know what these facts are. Specifically, I want to know:

1. Upon what do you base your assumption that extending the war to North Vietnam will have any appreciable effect upon the war in South Vietnam? Even the anemic, bland American press has repeatedly reported that the Vietcong are armed with captured American weapons and homemade weapons. I have yet to see any substantive evidence of the Vietcong being supplied with appreciable quantities of arms, ammunition, etc., from North Vietnam (certainly nothing approaching the scale of our supplies to the South Vietnamese). Nor am I aware of any evidence of significant troop reinforcements from the north (again, certainly nothing approaching the scale of our own troop involvements). Thus, any reasonable, rational explanation of extension of the war into North Vietnam would have to (1) cite substantive evidence of significant North Vietnamese participation in the war in South Vietnam, and if this be provable, (2) why it should be any more heinous than our own

participation, and (3) how you expect us to be able to attack the industrial complexes that (presumably) are aiding the Vietcong and not expect our own bases in Asia to be immune to retaliatory attacks.

2. Upon what grounds do you justify U.S. intervention in southeast Asia in the first place? It is my understanding of the Geneva agreement of 1954 that the line between North and South Vietnam was to be a temporary one, and that there were to be free elections held in order to unite Vietnam by July 1956. It is also my understanding that the major powers were to be prohibited from granting military aid to the government in former French Indochina. There have been no elections, and the United States is pumping billions of dollars in military aid to the area.

3. November elections aside, do you possess the intestinal fortitude to state clearly, precisely, and now what your long-range plans are for the war in South Vietnam and the extent to which you intend to carry U.S. involvement in Laos? If your reasoning is sound, and your cause just, then surely the American people will understand and support your actions. Given the soundness and justness of your position, it is difficult to see how the November elections could have any bearing on your failure to date to state clearly your long-range plans in this critical area.

It is my considered opinion, Mr. President, that the people of Asia are more concerned at the moment with achieving freedom from hunger, privation, disease, etc., than with freedom to make pilgrimages to the election polls every 2 or 4 years. The United States, as one of the most wealthy nations on earth, is in an ideal position to play a major role in helping these people emerge from the oppressive slavery they have endured under feudalistic despots for so many centuries. Of all the major powers, this country should know best the nature of the flame in the souls of men that drives them to make any sacrifice for the opportunity to achieve equality and social and economic well-being. We should know. But apparently we do not. Our country, itself the child of popular revolution, now, not 200 years later, finds itself allied with those who bear all too strong a resemblance to our own oppressors, and in opposition to those whose resemblance to our forebears is equally as strong. Surely the social and economic goals of the peoples of Asia are not so very different from the goals of this country—and especially of your party, Mr. President. Then, sir, how is it that we find ourselves supporting incompetent, self-seeking despots and dictators, and opposing those who, like us not too long ago, seek release from colonial rule, despots, military dictators, and poverty?

To me, the greatest sin is that of hypocrisy. Yet this country appears to be moving steadily in that direction. We mouth so eloquently the ideals and principles that inspired the founders of our country, but find it impossible to contribute more than one-six hundredths of our gross national product to the economic aid of all the underdeveloped countries of the world, to two-thirds of the world's population. Our blind, paralyzing fear of communism has caused us to support, time and again, brutal dictators simply because they are opposed to communism. And, thanks to the imbecilic rantings of the McCarthys and McCarrans, and the purges of the HUAC, the American people cower in the warm security of their homes, not daring to speak out in wholesome opposition to the actions of their Government (unless, of course, they are well to the right in the political spectrum. It seems that one cannot go too far left, but has unlimited horizons to the right).

Shedding the mask of hypocrisy, it would seem that this country has two alternatives.

On the one hand, we can loosen up our tight little fists and commit several billions of dollars a year to the economic and social development of underdeveloped countries, and commit ourselves for appreciable periods of time (at least 5 years, since most national economic plans are of this length), and actively support those leaders who sincerely have the interests of their people at heart. Or, we can quit pretending, utilize our gigantic military power and openly take over those countries who dare oppose our will and administer them—in much the same way that we now administer Okinawa.

Finally, in addition to the three questions above, I would like to know if your administration has done anything to increase our efforts in assisting underdeveloped areas along the difficult path to development.

I am well aware of the demands upon your time, but it is important to me that you at least read this letter. I would appreciate an answer. I am certain that you have any number of assistants who are quite capable of stating your position on these matters as well as you would do it yourself. But I would ask this one special favor of you personally: that you sign the reply to this letter yourself—on the assumption that you do read what you sign.

Sincerely,

BENAJAH E. SEALE, Jr.

Copy to Senator WAYNE MORSE.

OXNARD, CALIF.,

July 7, 1964.

WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Today on station KPFF, Marvin Schachter of the American Civil Liberties Union quoted a recent speech of yours on the subject of the war in Vietnam. I am very much interested, and would appreciate having a copy of this speech, for I know of no one else who is challenging the tacit assumption that the United States must fight in Vietnam. I know of no other leader who is asking "Why?" Why are we spending men's lives and \$1½ million a day in that miserable place? I do not know. Why do we not get out?

Again, thank you for your speech.

Sincerely,

MARIAN O'GORMAN.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,

July 9, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: May I again request six copies each of your speeches on southeast Asia which you delivered in the Senate on June 23 and June 29.

I would greatly appreciate them as I would like to pass them around to as many people as I can.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY J. SILVER, M.D.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.,

July 14, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish to congratulate you on your stand on South Vietnam. I think it is of immense importance that we find a nonviolent solution in place of a violent one.

In a nuclear world we must get practice at arriving at nonviolent solutions. I think a war in southeast Asia would be disastrous; Red China would almost certainly get involved and this might very well bring the Stalinists back into power in Moscow. Even if the Stalinists did not come into power, the Russians could not sit by and let the Red Chinese lose the war.



18146

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

August 8.

We must arrive at a nonviolent solution. If we don't get experience arriving at nonviolent solutions, we will not know how to deal with a major crisis.

I hope you will continue your efforts and please let me know if there is any way in which I can help you.

Very truly yours,

JOHN A. LARSON, M.D.

ISSAQUACH, WASH.,  
July 9, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SEN: I am writing this letter to commend your opinions and talk on "Issues and Answers" that I saw on TV a couple of weeks ago.

I thank God that there is a Senator like you who has the courage to come out and speak the truth to the American people on the Vietnam issue as you did.

You may be assured that I am behind you or rather I am wholeheartedly in accord with your ideas on handling the Vietnam and Laos problems by the United Nations.

I have been wondering if you could send the transcript of the TV talk on "Issues and Answers" on Vietnam and Laos to me, as it is difficult to remember all that was said on that one-half hour program.

I have come into many debates with friends and neighbors over Vietnam but your talk on TV was most informative.

If you have other material on Vietnam I would be most appreciative to receive it.

I only regret that I am not able to vote for you as we live in the State of Washington, but I take this letter to let you know that I am with you to help this Nation from being drawn into a major war over Vietnam and Laos.

Hoping that your stand for peace succeeds, I am,

Yours truly,

OIVA JOHN CARLSON.

MARZANI & MUNSSELL, INC.,  
New York, N.Y., July 10, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: May I congratulate you on your vigorous and courageous fight against extension of the war in Vietnam. I am sure this corresponds to the feelings of the majority of Americans.

I should deeply appreciate receiving copies of your speeches on the subject and would be grateful to be placed on your mailing list.

Sincerely yours,

CARL MARZANI.

EASTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY,  
Charleston, Ill., July 11, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Two weeks ago on a Sunday evening I heard you over station WLS-ABC Chicago on a program called "Issues and Answers." Your statement on the moral and legal issues our Nation faces in Vietnam was magnificent. If you have a copy of this particular statement I would appreciate getting it, for it had great clarity and was short and hard hitting.

I am confident your courageous stand on this issue has already begun to bear fruit, as witness the statement of Secretary General U Thant, and the more recent statement of 5,000 university professors queried by SANE.

The part of your statement I thought was particularly effective was your stand that war in a nuclear age is no longer tenable as a means of settling disputes, that we must begin to use international law if we are to do away with war, and the United States cannot use a double standard if it expects to maintain moral leadership, flouting international

law and using force when it wishes, while expecting others to abjure force and abide by law.

Ultimately I believe your views will prevail, and the American people will be deeply indebted to you forever for your great leadership on these life and death issues. May the Lord give you strength to carry on this important work.

Very sincerely yours,

Dr. LLOYD PULLIAM.

GIBSONIA, PA.,  
July 8, 1964.

President LYNDON B. JOHNSON,  
The White House, Washington, D.C.

Earnestly request we get our forces and the Maxwell Taylor-Goldwaterian philosophy out of Vietnam where we don't belong and get into Mississippi where our forces do have a mission.

MARION B. LYKE.  
HAROLD F. LYKE.

PELHAM MANOR, N.Y.,  
July 1, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SEN: I am writing only to show my respect for your fight against our actions in Vietnam and others in southeast Asia and your attempt to show the people of the United States what is going on there and has been ever since we backed up France in their attempt to get back that part of their colonial empire.

President Johnson said some time ago that the people of the United States should know more about what is going on in Vietnam and the Government would see that they did. I believe if they did at least 80 percent would be against what we are doing but since that was said I have seen nothing reported of yours or anyone who is against our actions in that territory. I would like to know how to get information on what you are doing in this regard.

Yours,

HAYDEN DUALLEY.

BELOIT, WIS.,  
June 30, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations and thanks for your stand on the war in Vietnam. If we ever had any business being there in the first place, it has surely disappeared. If anyone outside of Vietnam should be aiding or advising, it is the United Nations, not the United States.

Are you really the only one in the Senate holding these views against the Vietnamese war? The press has been reluctant to give proper coverage, so I don't know.

Please send me any statements you or similarly inclined Senators have made, or sources where I might learn more.

Again, keep your stand, and thank you, Sincerely,

GUNDA KORST.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.,  
July 9, 1964.

The Honorable WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am delighted beyond words with your speech of June 3, in regard to McNamara's war in Vietnam. SANE has asked me to stimulate a number of people in this neighborhood to write letters to the papers, etc., on questions dealing with the peace movement. Nothing would be more calculated to rouse them to do something of that sort than your speech. If it is not asking too much, I should be most grateful if you would send a copy of the speech to each of the following addresses.

I will call up these people and explain to them how it happens that they are receiving the speech.

I need not add how thankful I am that you are in the Senate.

Yours with enthusiasm,

HENRY S. HUNTINGTON.

ADDITIONAL SIGNERS

Miss Carol Buhr, 4418 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Miss Judith Weinberg, 1910 Pine Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Dr. Harris S. Gerber, 1036 Magee Road, Philadelphia, Pa.

Mr. Louis Meyer, Post Office Box 1071, Philadelphia, Pa.

Mrs. Warner Berthoff, 235 North Roberts Road, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

Mr. Bruce E. Knox, R.D. No. 1, Box 524B, State College, Pa.

Mr. and Mrs. David M. Hulst, 314 Prospect Avenue, West Grove, Pa.

Mrs. Charles M. DeMarco, 6517 North 9th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

BRYCE CANYON, UTAH, July 7, 1964.

The Honorable WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

SEN: As a student of Swarthmore College, I first became aware of your position in brief articles in the New York Times. Now I can only follow your statements and actions in National Guardian because the rest of the press out here and the national "news" magazines are silent except for pro-war propaganda.

I should make my sympathies clear. I fully commend you on what you are trying to do in regard to U.S. policy in southeast Asia. I believe, as you do, that the United States and its saber rattling is a real threat to peace and that our continued unilateral intervention in the affairs of the peoples of southeast Asia can only lead to war. The U.S. Government is apparently abrogating the sovereignty of nations in order to pursue its own interests with the concurrent belief that what it does is necessarily correct and proper for other peoples. This, to my thinking, is wrong—practically, legally, and morally—and since in this case it flies in the face of the recent emerging development of the dark-skinned races, it can only lead to defeat and disaster.

To us with only an imperfect and outside view of what is going on in Washington, it is awfully difficult to try to determine who or what is responsible for such stupid and silly policies as the Government is now committed to. In very general terms, can they be ascribed to the "unwarranted influence" of Eisenhower's "military-industrial complex"? Is the situation more complicated and closer to David Wesley's analysis (National Guardian, June 20) of a tug of war between the CIA, the Pentagon, and the State Department with control of U.S. policies often out of the hands of elected civilian officials? Is it the almost usual public apathy? Is this a result of the kept press (so many of which can aptly be described as "yellow rags") and the concealment of facts? It must be something of this nature for among the people in various parts of the country, I cannot find any substantial support for the continuance of the United States-made war. This is especially true as soon as some of the prowar propaganda they have been fed is shown to be what it really is.

As you stated previously in regard to South Vietnam: we should never have gone in, we should get out. This can only be more true in Laos where our aggression cannot be shielded as completely by the puppet government which in Laos makes lesser claims as to how much of the population it represents.

1964

18147

The United States should get out and get out now. A military solution dictated by the armed might of the United States is no solution. While it is probably too late now to even make a pretense of allowing the people of Vietnam and Laos to determine their own governments, at the very least, let's get the United States to sit down and work out a solution.

Could you please send me more information on the situation and your position and how you think the people down here might be able to change the present horrid policies of the Government.

Sincerely yours,

HAROLD MAINS.

THE CAPE COD COUNCIL  
OF CHURCHES, INC.,  
Hyannis, Mass., July 8, 1964.

Senator MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I and many others very much appreciate your efforts in the Senate to prevent escalation of the war in southeast Asia and to urge negotiations to end it.

Many of us are alarmed by the indications of impending extension of conflict there and will welcome warmly any move in the opposite direction.

It is our hope that the two Senators from Massachusetts will work with you on this matter.

Yours very truly,

KENNETH R. WARREN,  
Chairman, Social Relations Department.

ECORSE, MICH.,  
July 9, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MORSE: Living as we do in the century of nuclear arms, it becomes our responsibility to call a halt to all wars that may lead to the destruction of all humanity. It is for his reason that this letter is being written. Your campaign in the Senate of the United States to recall U.S. troops from Vietnam serves this purpose and is therefore in the best national interests of our Nation.

It is also desirable that a peaceful settlement be negotiated to settle all outstanding issues in southeast Asia and that this come about as a result of a gathering of all nations interested in peace, together with the United Nations.

I sincerely hope that you will do all in your power to effect such conference.

Respectfully yours,

FRANK FIELDS.

EAST ORANGE, N.J.,  
July 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Please know that we applaud your efforts on behalf of a sane, peaceful policy in South Vietnam and your unceasing courage in fighting for a withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam.

BEN LIEBERMAN,

ST. PAUL, MINN.,  
July 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

Sir: I am heartened to hear someone in our National Government speak honestly about our foreign policy. I wish you could get more frequent and far-reaching exposure of the truth but I don't suppose this is probable; although it is certainly worth the effort and the support of anyone who realizes we cannot forever prate democracy while supporting dictatorship and international law-

lessness without finally finding ourselves isolated from the people of all the rest of the world.

I guess you could say of the United States that no nation in the history of the world has ever paid greater lipservice to democracy.

I enclose a copy of my highly uncirculated voter's handbook. I don't know that you'll approve but I don't believe it's about you. I'm certainly with you all the way on foreign policy.

Sincerely,

NED O'NEILL.

WILLIAMSTOWN, MASS.,  
July 9, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: May I thank you for the stand you have taken on several occasions in speeches in the Senate on the issue of U.S. policy in southeast Asia. I hope that many U.S. citizens like myself will let you know that they support your views.

Sincerely,

Mrs. VERA FISHER.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
July 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: Your stand on U.S. policy in regard to Vietnam is to be commended. Over radio station KPFK in Los Angeles, Calif. I heard your views, and from what we read in between the lines, it is clear that our actions there are frightful and frustrating to say the least. Americans as well as Vietnamese are dying and the reasons for their sacrifice is very much a deep dark negative mystery. I say negative, because it is to stop something, rather than a course of action that will make Vietnamese more satisfied to face their enemy and defeat him. It all indicates that up to now, the Vietnamese neither want to fight or die, or to be dislocated from their homes helter-skelter. If our Government has not learned the bitter lesson from the holocaust the French Government suffered in 1954 in that particular area, then they have learned nothing.

Eventually we will find a way to leave the scene gracefully. Why not now? Please, Senator, do everything possible to knock some sense into the heads of those people who can remedy this untenable situation in Vietnam.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. HELEN DURBIN.

NORTH HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.,  
July 8, 1964.

Hon. Senator MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I was so very much impressed with the talk and answers that you gave over the television June 28, on the "Meet the Press" program, that I am moved to write to you.

In comparison to so much doubletalk one hears from many in high places, your firm stand for what you hold to be the truth was most refreshing and makes one hopeful that right shall yet prevail in our land.

It is men like you and Mr. Ribicoff and moral scientists like Dr. Pauling and a few others who will prove to be indeed "the salt of the earth" and reminds me of the words of Emerson when he said, "The world is upheld by the veracity of good men." Also "Nothing will bring us peace but the triumph of principle."

It seems that many, too many, of our citizens are absolutely allergic to any ideas for progress on any moral issue.

Hope you carry on the good work.

Wishing you every success, I am,

Yours sincerely,

SIDNEY S. EISENBERG.  
GERTRUDE B. EISENBERG.

KENT, OHIO,  
July 10, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senator from Oregon,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I. F. Stone's Weekly for July 6, 1964, has given in slightly abridged form the speech you delivered to the Senate on June 29. Again I wish to commend you for the logic of your arguments concerning the war in southeast Asia. Do keep on saying these things so that more and more people will hear them and have to think about them.

Sincerely yours,

Miss ESTHER L. GRANT.

BREMERTON, WASH.,  
July 8, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I simply wish to tell you that I share your views on our position in Vietnam. After discovering as much as I could about the situation, I have gone from the Henry Jackson viewpoint to wondering how on earth we ever adopted such a policy.

I am told that you are the only Member of the Senate who feels that we must get out. Courage—you should be used to that by now.

Respectfully,

CHARLIE SMITH.

JULY 8, 1964.

Hon. Senator MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: We are with you all the way in your efforts to bring reason into our foreign policy position in southeast Asia. Keep up the fight. We need you—and hope you can enlist the support of more of your colleagues in this most vital matter.

Sincerely,

HOWARD and GLORIA KLEIN.

APTOS, CALIF.,  
July 10, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I admire you for your courage to criticize our country's policy in southeast Asia. We also agree with your position. Please continue your efforts, publicly and privately, to serve our country and the cause for peace by urging peaceful settlement of the problems in southeast Asia through the United Nations and adhering to the treaties that we have signed.

As a father of a very large family, I am deeply concerned by the freedom of our military commander to determine our foreign policy without the consent or approval of the Congress or the people.

I beg you to do all in your power to restrict the influence of the Pentagon to strictly military affairs and not to meddle in foreign affairs.

Please advise me as to what I can do as a layman and a citizen to help.

Again, thank you for keeping up our hopes because if we had not heard you speak out, we would have given up.

Sincerely,

MARIO and ESTELLE CAROTA.

VENICE, CALIF.,  
July 4, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: On many occasions I have heard of your refreshing criticism of "accepted" viewpoints, and while not always agreeing, I feel that yours is one of the most intelligent and aware voices heard in Congress.

On this occasion I am referring to your interview on Vietnam heard over KABC.

I wish I could vote for you,

Yours with admiration,

RONALD F. S. FORBES, Ph. D.

August 8.

ALTO, MICH.,  
July 9, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: God bless you for daring to criticize the war in Vietnam and for working for peace. I hope other Congressmen will have the courage to follow your lead.

Yours truly,

CHARLES MATTHEWS.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Thank God, you have the courage to stand up to the warmongers.

These critical days demand courage from our representatives, and protest of the people in the millions, to stop our wholesale slaughter of South Vietnamese who only demand the right to choose leaders of their own choosing. We carry the "Big Stick" to all corners of the globe, wherever people ask a better way of life, then hunger, and oppression.

Would it not gain us wholesale love and respect if we lifted the people of the world into the 20th century instead of putting the boot to their back?

We stand before the world, condemned for our slaughter of innocent people by napalm bombs. We must stop, before we are in the midst of a third world war with no return.

Today the Pentagon with President Johnson are pursuing a path, that will eventually lead millions to death. Do all in your power to put some backbone into our elected representatives to turn the tide back to the times we were the torch for the oppressed.

Keep up the good fight, stop the warmongers. You would be surprised how much support is backing you.

Cordially,

CHARLES BERKOW.

CARMICHAEL, CALIF.,  
July 7, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I have just read where you object to the war, the United States is waging in South Vietnam.

We are warmongers, and hypocrites. We pretend to be what we are not.

We used to talk about Hitler's policy of might made right. But now we are the Hitler of the world.

How come there is only one Senator MORSE in the Senate? and so many Birds?

No system in the world, could be as bad as the capitalistic system. Someday it will be outlawed.

Sincerely,

L. E. MARSHALL.

ELMHURST, N.Y.

DEAR SENATOR: Allow me to express my sincere thanks for an outstanding patriotic job in behalf of our youth, who are facing death in the jungles of South Vietnam.

The policy of the Pentagon is to an assist from the CIA, calls for the support of a discredited puppet, whom the people will not support.

I have written to the President to bring our boys home and stop the slaughter of innocent men and women and prevent an escalation of the war.

Once again it behooves me to say, that your courageous action in trying to bring this madness to an end will redound to your credit for all to see.

Urging you to continue your fine effort in behalf of peace and decency and thanking you again I remain,

Sincerely yours,

HERMAN KATZEN.

LA JOLLA, CALIF.,  
July 8, 1964.Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: The La Jolla Friends' meeting has asked me to send you the enclosed copy of a letter to the President on the subject of Vietnam, about which you have shown such courageous concern.

Yours respectfully,

HELEN BEARDSLEY.

"JULY 6, 1964."

"The PRESIDENT,  
"The White House,  
"Washington, D.C."

"DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: The La Jolla meeting of the Religious Society of Friends has followed with growing concern the development of U.S. policy toward southeast Asia. We understand recent statements to mean that U.S. military power will be used against North Vietnam and against China if they continue to help the Communists of South Vietnam and Laos.

"We believe that such an extension of the war in South Vietnam would be a mistake of utmost gravity. It might lead to a war which would involve all mankind.

"From a practical standpoint there is no solution for the small countries of southeast Asia except through a negotiated settlement by all the nations concerned, protected by international guarantees. We urge our Government to use its influence to bring about the neutralization and demilitarization of the Indochinese peninsula. Surely the people of these war-torn lands would welcome an end to the killing and the opportunity to develop without outside pressures.

"It is unrealistic to expect that China, with its thousands of years of prestige in Asia and its vast potential, will accept dictation by the United States on its borders. Our threats may perhaps restrain temporarily, but they will strengthen the Chinese determination to drive us out of Asia and increase the enmity between China and the United States. We believe that it is the great responsibility of our generation to bring China into the community of nations and so to change the relationship between our country and China that there may be peace in our children's time, for their sake and for the sake of the future of the human race.

"Mr. President, we recognize the problems that you face, the pressures under which you labor, and your great effort to do what is right. We should like to stand behind you in an 'offensive in the pursuit of peace' which is not based on military power but on human and spiritual resources of man. Out of our deepest convictions we would remind you of words which we believe are applicable to the United States in Asia today. 'They that take the sword shall perish with the sword,' and of the positive promise, 'Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord.'

"Yours respectfully,

"STEWART F. MULFORD."

OAKLAND, CALIF.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,

DEAR SIR: Congratulations on your strong opposition to the dangerous and illegal foreign policy of the United States.

Keep it up.

J. D. THLOPS.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,

DEAR SIR: You are to be commended for your long and persistent effort for the recall of our troops from Vietnam.

I would suggest one thing more if you can do one thing more that you personally urge

every like-minded Governor, Senator, and Congressman to assure the President of a change from hostile to friendly votes—10; 50; 100 if he recalls the troops at the same time that these men personally urge their constituents to do the same.

If you get a good response we may be able to scare Mr. Johnson into action.

I am 82 and have an ailing heart; but will make all the noise possible.

Respectfully,

MRS. ANNABELLE KENNEDY.

TACOMA, WASH.,

July 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We support your policy on Vietnam. We are proud that you have taken such a courageous stand.

Sincerely,

PHILIP A. and MARIE HEFT.

DETROIT, MICH.,

July 8, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senator,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I do not understand how the President can threaten other nations with war when under the Constitution the authority to decide on the question of war is the prerogative and responsibility of the Congress—not of the President.

In view of Presidential statements, oft repeated, the people are entitled to a declaration by Congress—the authoritative source—as to whether or not this country is to be committed to a program of putting down "aggression" wherever it occurs in the world, as at present in Vietnam and Laos, thus taking over the role the United Nations is supposed to assume—a program that could keep the United States in a state of perpetual war.

The authors of the Constitution, as well as of the preceding Articles of Confederation, were well aware of the tyranny inherent in one-man control of the Armed Forces, and therefore placed in Congress the power to provide for the "government and regulation of the land and naval forces." The tyranny of one-man control of the military is accentuated when young men are drafted by law and then by one man's decision sent into battle anywhere in the world.

It is the duty of Congress to protect the people from such a situation by deciding matters in its specified jurisdiction and not allowing itself to be subordinated or superseded by the President.

Respectfully,

GEORGE M. MONTROSS.

CLAREMONT, CALIF.,

July 2, 1964.

Hon. Senator WAYNE MORSE: Your stand on the undeclared war in South Vietnam is very gratifying. The danger there is great. It may bring about a war that will be hard to stop. What is wrong with negotiating with North Vietnam and other peoples in that area? I would like to get a copy of your speech, June 25, if possible.

Respectfully,

BESSIE UDIN.

NEWTON CENTRE, MASS.,

July 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: The position which you have taken concerning the U.S. policy in southeast Asia deserves commendation and support and I respectfully submit it to you at this time. I hope that you will con-

1964

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

18149

tinue to speak out and that your voice will be heard by other Members of the Senate.  
Respectfully,

EDGAR GROSSMAN.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I would like to commend you on your speech June 23. I do hope that you will prevail. It seems terribly important to me that our country keep out of the war in South Vietnam. Thank you for having the courage to speak out.

J. SHINER.

BOSTON, MASS.,

July 2, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE of Oregon.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I'd like to let you know that I'm very much worried about the grave political situation in southeast Asia.

If we continue to flex our political muscles it does not show strength but irresponsibility, foolhardiness and inhumanity.

I am asking for your active leadership in seeking peaceful negotiations in every possible way, promptly.

Thanks.

Sincerely,

EDITH FRANKEL.

SAXTONS RIVER, VT.,

July 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for your statements on June 23 before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee concerning U.S. policy in southeast Asia. It is gratifying to know that there is at least one sane voice making itself heard against the administration's and Pentagon's reckless stand. We do not want this war to continue. Thank you for your good work.

Sincerely yours,

VERONICA BRELSFORD.

CHICAGO HEIGHTS, ILL.,

July 26, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I have heard your protest several times and I am so thankful to God for a man like you. I have been in doubt for a long time if there was one who looks at life's other side. You are sure to win. Please keep up your protesting, for I love the boys of our country and to save them from being shot down like beasts. I am a D., but I can see the right and wrong side of it too. I just had to write and tell you how I do feel about your TV talks.

If we had more men with the same good thought for the boys dying out of the country, leaving home and country as young kids without a chance in life. You are not on TV, so keep talking and save our boys. I have two in Germany. I am back of you. So is my husband.

May God bless you.

Mr. and Mrs. OTIS WILLIAMS.

SOUTHWEST HARBOR, MAINE,

July 6, 1964.

The PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

MR. PRESIDENT: You just signed into law the civil rights bill, thus completing successfully a momentous step in the inner development of the United States, owing largely to your own energy and efficiency.

Unfortunately, at the same time in foreign policy, you took a number of steps in southeast Asia which constitute an acute threat to the precarious balance of peace on a global scale. You replaced Henry Cabot Lodge by General Taylor; you are rushing to completion the new enormous military base

at Danang; you are conducting aggressive military actions in Laos, and you have expressed your readiness to go to war in your struggle against Communist dangers in that area.

I do not know whether all these acts are based on your personal conviction or whether they are connected with the impending presidential elections or the pressure of influential military and industrial groups. It is my deep conviction, however, that they are founded on unrealistic assessments of the political world situation; that they violate the sovereignty of other people; that they will not lead closer to your avowed goals, but must instead provoke both China and Russia as well as minor Asian nations. They are threatening to destroy the effects of all steps toward saner East-West relations that have been undertaken in the last 2 years.

I emphatically agree with the stand taken by the Senators WAYNE MORSE, GRUENING, BARTLETT, PELL and AIKEN who warned of the consequences of the present policy in southeast Asia.

I am going to send copies of this letter to those Senators and I deplore the lack of coverage that the press and television have given to their protests.

Immediate negotiations not to spread, but to end the wars in southeast Asia, are the only way that can produce results other than destructive. It is your responsibility, Mr. President, to choose that way.

Respectfully,

HEDDA KORSCH.

WESTON, MASS.,

July 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We strongly endorse your statements warning of the consequences of U.S. policy in southeast Asia. We are deeply concerned by signs of an extension of the war pressured by the Pentagon.

You have our complete support in your efforts to combat this futile and immoral policy.

Respectfully yours,

JOHN C. GRAY.

HELEN L. GRAY.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

HON. WAYNE MORSE:

I applaud your outspoken opposition to the war in Vietnam.

More power to you.

A. ALLYN.

JAMAICA, N.Y.,

July 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.:

We gratefully acknowledge and applaud your courageous stand on Vietnam. Women strike for peace.

ELENOR KLEIN.

JOYCE MANDEL.

CELIA STERN.

SHIRLEY MARGOLIN.

MIRIAM AMBLER.

BERNICE HOLLAND.

RUTH MEYER.

ENID HANDLER.

WEST MEDWAY, MASS.,

July 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for raising your voice against expansion of the war in southeast Asia.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. CHAPIN.

CLARA BUTLER CHAPIN.

DENVER, COLO.,

July 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MORSE: It's good to know that at least there is one sane man in Congress who considers our policy in Vietnam extremely dangerous to world peace and isn't afraid to speak out boldly about it.

Since most people can't see us getting out entirely, I wonder if folks might respond better to Charles Wells suggestion that we try to beat the Reds at their own game for their entire basis of appeal is to bring a better life to the common folk. I know you would be behind such a humanitarian move.

Thank you again for your untiring efforts to alert the people to the real situation.

Sincerely,

MILDRED E. MOWE.

JULY 2, 1964.

President LYNDON B. JOHNSON,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR PRESIDENT JOHNSON: I want you to know that my wife and I believe you have done a splendid job so far in carrying out the duties of your office. However, I am deeply concerned by your actions and statements with reference to the conflict in Vietnam. We are, frankly, worried by the fact that you have selected a general, schooled in the art of war, to replace a civilian for the post of American Ambassador.

Also, I understand that you have ordered a speedup for the completion of an American airbase in Danang, and that you have ordered overflights and then bombings in Laos by U.S. planes. Also, Secretary Rusk has been threatening military action against China.

When will this country adopt a moral foreign policy? When will we ask the question, "What is best for the people of Vietnam?" and not always the selfish question, "What is best for the selfish interests of the United States?"

I understand that Senators GRUENING, BARTLETT, PELL, AIKEN, and MORSE have warned against your recent policies in southeast Asia. I also understand that their speeches have been smothered by silence in the press and on television. If the truth is that the people of Vietnam and other southeast Asian countries have been abused, subjugated, and denied the opportunities for comfort and happiness, we have no right to enforce the continuation of a status quo government. I feel that the United States has no right to dominate southeast Asia and no right to dictate what form of government and what leadership these people shall have. It seems to me that our recent actions in Vietnam are indeed imperialistic. I note that our Western allies, in particular England and France, have not seen fit to embark on these aggressive military actions.

I will appreciate hearing from you as soon as convenient as to what your intentions are in this part of southeast Asia.

Very sincerely yours,

HERBERT MURPHY.

(Copy to LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, of Massachusetts; EDWARD KENNEDY, of Massachusetts; Senator GRUENING, of Alaska; Senator BARTLETT, of Alaska; Senator PELL, of Rhode Island; Senator AIKEN, of Vermont; Senator MORSE, of Oregon.)

CUMMINGTON, MASS.,

July 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I want to express my admiration and intense gratitude to you for

18150

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

August 8

your splendid and persistent fight to put an end to the senseless, wicked, and potentially very dangerous war in South Vietnam. I hope you get thousands of letters supporting you.

Also I wish that you would run as an independent candidate for the Presidency. As it is, I shall not vote for either party's candidate.

Faithfully yours,

MARGARET A. FELLOWS.

SUPERIOR, WIS.

DEAR SIR: I want you to know how much I agree with you on your stand on our stupid war in Asia. Not only do I agree with you on this but on most of your positions. Wish that we in Wisconsin had a Senator such as you. More power to you.

Sincerely,

KEN SONINOV.

SHREWSBURY, MASS.

July 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish to express my compliments and appreciation for your stand in warning of the consequences of U.S. policy in southeast Asia. This is a most hazardous situation and should certainly not be allowed to escalate further into a possible nuclear war.

Sincerely yours,

HUDSON HOAGLAND.

DUBUQUE, IOWA,

July 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish to commend you on your opposition to American military involvement in South Vietnam. You are one of a very few public figures with the perception, honesty, and disinterested independence to call public attention to the situation in southeast Asia as it really is—a reactionary and dangerous gamble on the part of bellicose and imperialistic forces in American Government and society. Powerful elements in both the liberal and conservative wings of both parties seek to outdo each other in popularizing the canard that Americans in South Vietnam are killing and being killed in defense of national self-determination and democracy. Exactly the opposite is the truth, and if the American people can escape being brainwashed on this issue it will be due to the outspoken honesty of public servants like you, whose loyalties are to their public and not the Pentagon.

Sincerely,

NICHOLAS DICKEN.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.,

August 5, 1964.

President LYNDON B. JOHNSON,  
White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Not too many years ago the American people became sick of the useless war in Korea and elected Dwight D. Eisenhower as President, largely because of his promise to stop that war. Nothing really had been accomplished, but a lot of American boys had lost their lives. It was just fortunate that it had not erupted into a world holocaust.

Now we are faced with a similar situation. I doubt if most people can possibly imagine what we are fighting for in Vietnam. It is said that we must contain communism—at any cost. Well, if we blow up the world I suppose it can be said that communism was contained, but personally I would rather let those countries have whatever they choose to

have, and that will not stop us from having what we choose to have. But it will give us a chance to live in a world not only at peace, but a world, period.

Actually, the people in Vietnam have every moral right to their own choice. I am quite aware that we have been involved in a very unsavory war in South Vietnam for some time.

We have enough problems right here at home without sending our boys off to fight in some jungle for what so easily can come out of the jungle and become a world conflagration. If this sounds like isolationism, I do not mean it so. In fact I feel it is our responsibility to help feed the world's people. What I am so opposed to is war, senseless, useless, stupid, war—to be cynical, probably for someone's pocket, as I certainly cannot see any real reason to risk so much.

I would hope that we have a choice in November. I know that I hope to vote for you, and to be able to do so with full conviction. You have the opportunity to go down in history as one of our great Presidents—if you will but have the courage to choose what you must know deep down is the right thing to do.

Sincerely,

JEANNE BRANCATO.

LARCHMONT, N.Y.,

August 5, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MORSE: I have just this minute heard a news report that you have dissented from the resolution of your colleagues, due for passage tomorrow; and that you believe the United States to share blame with the North Vietnamese and that it should all be handed through the U.N.

I almost never write letters to public officials but I want you to know that your statement is like a breath of fresh air in the stagnant (if not foul) atmosphere of this country.

Sincerely,

MADGE ROSENBAUM.

FT. WAYNE, IND.,

August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR WAYNE MORSE: Congratulations for your outspoken and fearless attitude and reasonable and unbiased explanation in regard to southeast Asia.

Thanks,

JOHN CONLEY, M.D.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,

August 6, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: It is good to see you quoted in the enclosed article by General Hester in the August Churchman which came today. And your statement of yesterday, quoted in part, in today's New York Times, should have been quoted in full and should have been its lead page 1 article.

Sincerely,

CLYDE R. MILLER.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,

August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: We heard on a newscast that you have called our country the provocateur in the Vietnamese PT boat incident. What you said is tragically true. There has been a great deal of talk of "defense of freedom" in Vietnam. No one has defended freedom of thought for freedom in the old Indo-Chinese states since World War II. We stand today in just about the same position the French

Army did before 1954. If only some face-saving solution (for us) could be found. Again congratulations on your courageous stand.

M. SIDINA.

JEVNE & JEVNE, LAWYERS

Minneapolis, August 6, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: You were magnificent on television last night. I salute your courage, your independence, and your patriotism. You demonstrated that you love country above partisanship. You were well armed with truth.

This country is so fortunate to have a fearless Senator like you. You are sure to prevail in the long run because you have the facts on your side. You have the stuff of greatness.

Your truly,

FRANZ JEVNE.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,

July 4, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE.

DEAR SENATOR: I hear that you are the lone voice in the Government opposing the aggressive war in Vietnam, but I want you to know that the people are not for it in spite of the deceptive information about it. I base my belief mainly upon public opinion programs on the radio; they denounce it almost 100 percent.

Very sincerely,

Mr. W. S. HAGER.

WHAT KIND OF FREEDOM?

(By Hugh B. Hester)

The American people have been shown two pictures in their daily newspapers recently which depict the situation in the world better than many thousands of words. One shows the bloody, cruel, and utterly insane war the United States Government is waging against defenseless, innocent, and poor men, women and children—in this instance, half way around the world. It is of a Cambodian father holding in his arms his badly burned napalm-bombed child. The other picture shows the abysmal poverty of the "have-nots" in Latin America.

To state, as did the late John Foster Dulles and many others, that the presence of Communists among the people of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia pose a threat to the interests of the mighty United States is fantastic; to claim that the U.S. Government is not responsible for the war in this area is false; and to call this a defense of freedom is literally obscene. This is cold-blooded, senseless murder, worthy only to the heirs of Hitler's Nazi Germany, her concentration camps and crematories.

DEAR SIR: I want to send this little note to let you know that there are people in this country who appreciate your courage, integrity, rationality, and individualism.

Sincerely yours,

MIKE WALTERS.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SENATOR: I have never before felt it necessary to inform a member of Congress of my views. However, admiring your courage and anticipating the criticism that you will receive, I now find it necessary to do so. I am in absolute agreement with your statement concerning the President's actions and the Government's policies toward the Vietnam problem.



1964

I am particularly concerned over the method by which President Johnson chose to carry out the U.S. military action. The destruction by jet fighters of naval bases and vessels, oil fields, and the subsequent deaths involved, all taking place within the borders of another country, certainly constitutes war, no matter how limited or what the situation surrounding the action is. Therefore, it is alarming to me that the President chose to inform the Nation, at midnight, of an aggressive action that had already commenced. The congressional debate, which I have always assumed is called for under the Constitution, and subsequent public response was not a concern of President Johnson.

The dangers of such a precedent are extreme. We must maintain the Congress as a forum of debate, where the public may seek out truths on which to base decisions. Increasingly, especially in the field of foreign affairs, the Senate and House have become rubber stamps for governmental decisions. This "predated declaration of war," as I believe you call it, is an excellent example of this.

We must realize that a democracy has built into it certain limitations. These limitations may, in the haste of an instant, seem cumbersome and obstructive. They are, however, the heart of a democracy. They are the "time-stops" by which we may objectively study our actions. What little debate remains in Congress is not taken very seriously any more.

Please continue your efforts to preserve the essence of American governmental law. The rate of our departure from these laws has become increasingly fast.

Yours truly,

CHARLES REISS.

AUGUST 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I agree with you completely on the war in South Vietnam and also in the naval action in Tonkin Gulf.

You seem to be the only one operating on principle in these matters.

Keep up the good work and God bless you.

Sincerely,

A. J. HOFFMAN.

GREENVILLE, S.C.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for the courageous stand you have been taking in the Senate on Vietnam. Your points seem well taken indeed. Have also appreciated your article in the Progressive on the same matter. I have written the liberal Senators urging support for your stand. I suspect that you won't get help from South Carolina men, though I have written them also. One never knows. Thanks for your work on passing the civil rights law too. It is doing good.

The matter on which I wish your consideration is the manner of paying the 5 percent rise in social security benefits. It does not seem fair to raise the most needy the least, by the straight 5 percent method. (It was done that way last time anyway.) Why could the method not be that of taking the 5 percent in a lump sum divided equally between the beneficiaries? This can be done very simply, as is obvious. If it is too late this time, how about next?

I get \$56 per month, from blindness, about \$700, a Senator's salary per week, I believe, before the latest raise. I guess that is just, but I do think it is not just to condemn

the Soviet Union for its class structure when it may be no more extreme than ours.

Yours sincerely,

ROSS W. ANDERSON.

AUGUST 5, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: May I offer you my appreciation and gratitude for your courage and honesty in making a speech opposing aggression on the part of our country in Vietnam. I am sure that an overwhelming majority of the people of the world love and honor you for your statesmanship.

Sincerely,

Mrs. ESTHER SUROVELL.

CHICAGO, ILL.,  
August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish to express my deep appreciation upon your courageous stand on the issue of Vietnam. My neighbors and I are in full accord regarding your opinion.

It is regrettable that so few Senators are with you and the rest seem to be frightened to speak up.

Please, keep up the good work.

God bless you Senator FULBRIGHT and Senator GRUENING.

Respectfully,

Mrs. MILDRED FALK.

WASHINGTON.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am one of many American citizens who owe you a deep debt of gratitude, for your vision to see, and your courage to state objections to current action in Vietnam.

Many thanks. If only you were triplets.

Very truly,

JANET N. NEUMAN.

Thank you.

Thank God for you.

GEORGIA H. SCHNEIDER.  
LEON H. SCHNEIDER.

STANLEY PATERSON,  
Altadena, Calif., August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Your is a voice crying in the wilderness. But thank God for your voice. And thank God too for the good people of Oregon who have the amazing intelligence to keep you in office.

The world desperately needs you. Keep healthy.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. STANLEY PATERSON.

CLEVELAND, OHIO,  
August 6, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I was pleased to read of your hearty repudiation of recent developments in the Gulf of Tonkin, and of general U.S. policy in South Vietnam. It came at a time when everyone, it seemed, was endorsing a policy of stepped-up U.S. military activity in Indochina. Your Senate speech of August 5 (Cleveland Plain Dealer, Aug. 6, p. 10), has caused me to reevaluate my support of our military aid to the South Vietnam Government.

However, I am still bothered by several important aspects of the fighting there. I would appreciate specific replies to the following questions:

1. By what specific agreement is the United States committed to render military aid of the South Vietnam forces?

2. What evidence is there that the majority of the South Vietnamese approve of U.S. military presence?

You suggest the entire matter be settled at the conference table. Doesn't the cur-

rent situations in Laos and Vietnam indicate the futility of such a recourse?

4. Isn't continued or increased U.S. military activity in Indochina the only certain way of averting a complete Communist takeover?

5. With the possibility of a global war ever present, doesn't the strategic importance of American bases in southeast Asia represent a vital national interest?

Thank you for your consideration in this matter. Anticipating a prompt reply, I remain,

Respectfully yours,

MELVIN E. HILL.

CLEVELAND, OHIO,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We vigorously agree with and support your position on the crisis in Vietnam.

We hope you will use all the influence of your high office to urge the President to take this matter to the United Nations where a start toward a fair settlement of the confused Far Eastern situation can begin.

Sincerely yours,

Dr. and Mrs. EUGENE VAYDA.

STATE COLLEGE, PA.,  
August 5, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We would like to indicate our whole-hearted support for your statement on the Vietnam crisis. Surely, as you suggest, the solution does not begin in tit-for-tat retaliations by both sides that may escalate the level of violence until we are over the brink. Recourse to violence is always the easiest, most popular, and most primitive response. Unfortunately, it is rarely the wisest. As you also suggest, military measures can rarely solve political problems. If I may use an inappropriate metaphor, stick to your guns.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. and Mrs. MARVIN E. ROZEN.

WILMINGTON, DEL.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR WAYNE MORSE: Listening to you on TV last night and reading CONGRESSIONAL RECORD every day plus Edgar Snow's books plus Felix Greene, Pearl Buck, and "China Reconstructs", China's magazines. I am with Senator WAYNE MORSE all the way in preference to the American oil interests.

I wouldn't want part of the Vietnamese Navy stationed in the Delaware River threatening or shooting.

As the organizer of the first teacher's union, American Federation of Teachers AFL-CIO, I know and have had to struggle with "cloakroom votes."

But I fear for you because you are traveling ahead of the crowd. As a Democrat I read Human Events and National Guardian. Our local News Journal is not only Republican oriented, but Du Pont owned. You know the rest well.

We pray for you daily.

The tax-exempt foundation story is a national scandal. Congressman WRIGHT PATMAN sent me the three installments of his committee's work, Howard L. Hunt's "Life Lines"; Mrs. Horace Dodge, 58 million in tax-exempt bonds paying not 1 cent of taxes, Federal or State.

Will there be any corrective legislation? Not as long as Texas oil rules, the country.

Have written L.B.J. of our tremendous respect for you.

August 8

Wish you were our candidate for President. Our Democrat teachers are saying "L.B.J. is the lesser of the two evils." Fine way to judge an American President. Not any of my friends enchanted with Human Events. Liberty Poll presents "L.B.J.—A Political Biography" and "L.B.J. Behind the Smiles and Handshakes." I refuse to read "A Texan Looks at Lyndon" by Events.

Of course, I could not vote for GOLDWATER, but neither am I enchanted with L.B.J.

Try to get to the people via TV frequently.

MARIE HITCHEN.

BOUND BROOK, N.J.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Capitol Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Three cheers for your clear and forthright statement just seen on TV, concerning our most recent blunder in southeast Asia. I fully agree with all you said, and have seen more of your expanded remarks earlier in IF Stones Weekly. You are quite right that the United States is the greatest threat to world peace, a provocateur and aggressor.

Would that there were more clear and forthright voices like yours in the Senate. Alas my two Senators, CASE and WILLIAMS, to whom I've written earlier, have been brainwashed by the McNamara-Rusk clique and can't see the forest for the trees.

May I then adopt you as "my Senator from New Jersey" and urge you to speak as before on this and all interrelated subjects, until the whole nasty business is brought to light and the truth known to the American people.

With warmest regards,

MR. ORLISS HEUKELKIN.

P.S.—I've just written to President Johnson protesting his action in the Tonkin Gulf.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
August 12, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
The Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish to compliment your courageous stand in relation to our aggressive action against the North Vietnamese and our general policy in southeast Asia. Our attempt to hold on to a colony that was abandoned by the French many years ago can do nothing except create a tremendous amount of anti-American feeling and continue the suppression of the majority of people in the area by a few feudal landlords. This cannot lead to anything but at best, a Communist takeover of the area or, at worst, total war. It is therefore extremely foolhardy, in this nuclear age, to provoke a nation supported by the majority of the people in the area and allied with such powerful, and sometimes equally or even more foolhardy nations, even in an attempt to win an election. A southeast Asian crisis might win a Democratic victory in November, but that presupposes that mankind reaches November. I therefore wish to support your almost uniquely modern and rational stand. I wish more of the Senate had your courage and convictions.

Yours sincerely,

ROBERT JACOBSON.

BERKELEY, CALIF.,  
August 5, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: For your information, I am enclosing a copy of the telegram which I have just sent to President Johnson.

I invite your attention to a map of the Gulf of Tonkin. It is virtually a Chinese lake. What business have our destroyers in such a spot? How would we react to Chinese destroyers in Long Island Sound?

We applaud your courage and leadership in the fight to achieve a policy of peace and sanity and noninterference in other nation's affairs.

Sincerely,

EPHRAIM KAHN, M.D.

TELEGRAM

President LYNDON B. JOHNSON,  
White House,  
Washington, D.C.:

Aghast at crisis to which our southeast Asia policy has led. We have no business in Vietnam. Your administration has no authority to fight undeclared wars. We implore you to find diplomatic solutions so we can get out of Vietnam and Laos before touching off nuclear war.

EPHRAIM KAHN, M.D.  
BARBARA KAHN.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: When I heard the news about our new extensions of the war in Vietnam I thought "No one in Congress will say that we might have expected that mutual provocations will lead to mutual aggressive responses." Then I remembered you, and wondered if you would match past performances with present courage and integrity.

Your statement reported today strikes me as the one thoroughly decent, honest reaction of a public official to the madness going on in Vietnam. I congratulate you, and I thank you for it.

Please continue to speak and vote your conscience. Though they may not yet be articulate, there are millions who feel as you do and will be strengthened by your stand.

Sincerely,

RODERIC GORNEY, M.D.

ELIZABETH, N.J.,  
August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish to say that I wholeheartedly support your views concerning the invasion of North Vietnam.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES L. MCKARNS.

QUEENS VILLAGE, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR WAYNE MORSE: I wholeheartedly support your stand for peace and sanity. If the world is not to be pushed over the brink it will take leaders of courage and wisdom to point the way to the American people.

I am doing my best to spread your position to all people I come in contact with.

Let us pray that other governments have more forbearance and wisdom so that the world can retreat from the brink.

Very truly yours,

ROBERT GALINA.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.,  
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: My husband tells me that on a newscast tonight he heard that you opposed the aggressive military actions of this Government in North Vietnam.

If this is so, God bless you. I have written President Johnson that I believe our aggression is appalling and morally wrong. We are as wrong as Hitler and as wrong as the French in Algeria. War and aggression never convinced anyone of anything.

I urge you to continue to raise your voice against this policy and to urge a resolution

of all our differences through the United Nations.

Respectfully yours,

Mrs. LOIS G. SUSSMAN.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.,  
August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I must let you know how moved I am by your statement tonight on the Vietnam situation.

Your voice of sanity and reason, honesty and integrity, stand out like a candlelight in a sea of frightening darkness.

Thank you for that one voice. May it always be heard.

Thankfully,

Mrs. SOPHIE DAVIS.

CHICAGO, ILL.,  
August 5, 1964.

Hon. Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: It is with all humility and respect that I address this letter to you for your most courageous, humane, and intelligent stand against the hysteria and jingoism that has befogged so much of our national thought today.

If there are any suggestions you can make as to what I can do as an ordinary citizen to aid in the cause of peace and respect for my country please do not hesitate to advise me. Nor should you hesitate to ask anything of me either in this cause.

With admiration and respect, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

NORMAN C. ROTH.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Please be assured of my total approval and support of your remarks on Wednesday, August 5, 1964, concerning the Bay of Tonkin incidents.

I am becoming more and more ashamed of the role that the United States is playing in world affairs. When one considers the fire-power, communications, etc., at the command of the warlords in Washington, the British of 150 years ago begin to take on the complexion of enlightened pilgrims of peace.

Best wishes.

AL WOODBURY.

BALTIMORE, MD.,  
July 13, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I thought you might be interested in knowing about a project in which I am now involved in enlisting the support of many prominent educators, professional, civic and religious leaders of my city to urge our local news media to be more responsible in its presentation of the Vietnam issue. Along with our appeal we are sending all of the local news media (press, radio, and TV stations) a copy of the enclosed editorial from the Progressive.

Perhaps you may know other concerned citizens who might be willing to undertake a similar project in their own States. I would be happy to send you additional copies of this editorial if you can utilize them.

I have also enclosed a copy of a letter by myself published in the Sun on July 12 which reached 340,000 Maryland families. Thank God we have courageous Senators in our country, such as yourself who are unafraid to face reality and who have the courage to speak the truth.

Sincerely,

LEON SHAPIRO.

P.S.—If you send in a letter on the Vietnam situation to the Sun, Baltimore, Md., they will be happy to publish it, as I believe they are sympathetic to your views.

HANOVER, PA.,  
July 13, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR WAYNE MORSE: We think that you should do all you can to stop illegal war in Vietnam.

Seek diplomatic not military settlement, agree to reconvene 14 Nation 1962 Geneva Conference to secure withdrawal of foreign personnel and material.

This should be done at once as the war has gone on long enough with our involvement.

We realize that you are doing all you can for the good of the people in the United States also Senator CLARK and a few other Senators but there are not enough "better thinking" Senators to put in to effect the good laws that should be made laws.

Congratulations on the good you have been doing and do keep up the good work.

ELIZABETH M. GITT.

DENVER, COLO.,  
July 12, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: As a result of your recent stand in regard to our "adventure" (polite word) in South Vietnam, you no doubt have received numerous letters from the simple-minded, might-makes-right folks, condemning you to the hottest spot in hell.

This letter is intended to let you know that there are still some Americans who believe that we are under an obligation to examine our own acts for right or wrong, wisdom or the lack of it.

I consider you one of the few rational men in public life today, and only wish that this State offered an opportunity to vote for someone equally sensible as you have shown yourself to be.

It must be terribly discouraging at times, but I hope you will continue to fight for a return to rationality in our international relations.

Sincerely,

R. RIDDLE.

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.,  
July 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am in complete agreement with you on your statement to the Government representatives before the Foreign Relations Committee—that the United States is, at the moment, the greatest threat to world peace. I see no other evaluation to make of the present policies. As I have stated in the accompanying letter to Senator FULBRIGHT—regardless of history, we continue to make the same mistakes over and over.

Without doubt, you are the chief spokesman for the people and, I am thoroughly convinced that the great majority stands with you on all those issues you so ably present and fight for. Many of us have long been convinced that the thinking of the voter is far ahead of the majority in the Congress—tragic but true.

The situation in which we are involved in southeast Asia is so disgraceful that it is beyond belief and falls in the category of the unthinkable of which Senator FULBRIGHT spoke. Be assured that we the people stand back of you who are fighting our battles, since the only way we can be heard is through you.

Keep up the fight, and we will give you all possible support.

Most sincerely,

Mrs. ALICE B. HOSKINS.

MECHANICSBURG, PA.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you so much for your stand on Vietnam. We wish we had

more like you. You have our support, and am sure many others feel as we do.

Too bad our Senators and Representatives do not have guts to stand up to military and all rest of warmongers.

This should be all done by United Nations, we should never have been in there at all ever.

We are playing with fire, whole world can be wiped out, as you have pointed out. We are the aggressors.

I am glad we have one man, and you seem to be all alone, who can tell truth and stick to it. Our faith in human nature is renewed.

Yours truly,

HARRY A. and LOLA V. TRUMBORE.

UNIVERSITY CITY, MO.,  
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
The Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We congratulate you on your courageous disagreement with the President's action in Vietnam. We hope you can convince other Senators and Congressmen of the correctness of the position you have taken. In the interests of world peace, we would like to urge your support of a negotiated settlement in Vietnam, arranged within the framework of the United Nations, based on the neutralization of both North and South Vietnam.

Very truly yours,

Dr. and Mrs. MONROE STRICKBERGER.

MAYS LANDING, N.J.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR: My wife and I heartily congratulate you for your unwavering Americanism during these critical days. Your position with regard to the dangerous situation in Vietnam is in the highest tradition of our democracy.

I have communicated these views to both of my representatives in the Senate, urging them to follow your leadership by taking public positions against war in southeast Asia.

Gratefully yours,

WALTER LOWENFELS.

HOUSTON, TEX.,  
July 12, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR: Thank you for having spoken out against our present policy in southeast Asia, particularly Vietnam. We hope you will continue your protest.

To us the war in Vietnam seems absurd and cruel. We feel that there is no chance of securing an even vaguely democratic government for either North or South Vietnam without neutralizing the area under the United Nations. Certainly a U.N. force has a better chance of securing peace than does a U.S. mission with its obvious cold war commitments.

The lives lost and the billions spent seem to be poured down a drain. The extravagance has no connection with our ideals or interests.

We pray that you and other men in Congress can help to change our policy.

Sincerely,

CYNTHIA and JOE ADCOCK.

LAKE JACKSON, TEX.,  
August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR: We respectfully urge you to continue your fight to get our men out of the war in Vietnam.

May God bless your efforts:

Mr. and Mrs. N. BARON.

Bronx, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I thank you profoundly for your forthright statement regarding the situation in Vietnam.

It is heartening to hear one clear, courageous, and honest voice ringing out in the midst of the terrifying threat of war.

One can only hope that others in the Government will take up your call for sanity and will work toward a real peace not the so-called peace to be achieved by the slaughter of vast numbers of people.

"Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad." Madness seems to be running amuck in high places in our Government.

May the madness be curbed before the world is engulfed in a war that can only mean incineration for all of humanity.

I thank you again for leading the way toward sanity and a true peace.

Respectfully yours,

Dr. HELEN HARRIS.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

DEAR SENATOR: Please use all your resources to urge a political solution of the situation in Vietnam.

I would like to see all our troops withdrawn from that area.

Let life continue on earth.

Sincerely,

MARGARET DAUBER.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,  
July 13, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Your continuing efforts to effect a peaceful settlement in South Vietnam, and to get our troops out of the illegal dirty war which we are engaged in deserve the thanks of all Americans who are ashamed of this blot on our country's history.

I hope you will be able to make a well publicized tour of the country presenting the facts of this situation.

Sincerely,

THOMAS AMMENS.

GREENVILLE, S.C.,  
July 12, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,  
Capitol Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We have read of your recent remarks on the administration's policy in southeast Asia and the appointment of General Taylor as the new Ambassador to South Vietnam.

We would like to commend you on your stand on this issue and urge you to continue your courageous efforts to make known the wishes of many of the American people regarding the illegal war now being waged in Asia by the American military forces.

The risks of further war incurred by our military intervention, and killing and injuring of innocent civilians, in some cases by napalm, are but a part of the terrible wrong that is now being carried out in this troubled part of the world.

Your remarks about the justification of our intervention by the American press were especially significant. Please keep up your good efforts and be assured of our gratitude and support.

Sincerely,

R. M. and ELIZABETH C. McHUGH.

TAMWORTH, N.H.,  
July 11, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: May I express my great admiration and gratitude for the many words you have spoken against the administration policy in Vietnam, and your selfless devotion to a national ethical ideal. I do not have too much time to read during the summer, but I am grateful to Mr. I. F. Stone, who never fails to report and comment on your speeches.

August 8

I may be wrong, but it is my opinion that of all the public figures in the country today, you are the one of whom my father, Grover Cleveland, might most approve—granting him, of course, some change of point of view with the course of history.

Sincerely yours,

FRANCIS G. CLEVELAND.

WALNUT CREEK, CALIF.,  
July 8, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I can't tell you how proud I am of you. It seems years ago when we had you out here to a dinner which I helped organize—Contra Costa County—now I wish you were President.

I plan not to vote in the Presidential election if war is still going on. My friends are feeling the same way. In fact, we have a culture committee in our parents club at school this year, and we plan to take up works like "Culture Against Man" by Jules Henry, "Maria Montessori" by Standley, and so on. We are really very uncivilized, and I think it is a reflection of our lack of a real politics. If we do not get a new politics, we will disappear off the face of the earth when China gets her bomb (which she has every right to get), and then bombs us, which is what we will deserve by then.

Louis Lomax asked a good question. He said, "Christian missionaries with their Bibles were in China 100 years before Karl Marx was ever heard of, who goofed?"

We did.

Sincerely,

MARION POWELSON.

P.S.—I've joined the Toastmistress Club this year so I can be a more effective speaker for peace.

UDONTHANI, THAILAND.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: The other day I happened to flick on my shortwave radio, and picked up a program on the Armed Forces station. You were the star of the program, giving your views on Asia, our allies, and principals.

Your views, in my opinion, are absolutely correct. Though you may never read this letter because of your busy schedule, at least it will be counted up as one more letter backing you up.

Never have I heard a man in politics speak like you did on that program. It has always been my opinion, especially since I've been living over here, that America cannot be expected to be an international police force. If the free world really feels these Asian lands are important, let them show something more than token help. When I heard you logically explain these things, and other matters, I gave you a big clap from halfway around the world.

I could go into great length and itemize all the points you made on the program, but there is no need for that. Let it suffice to say you are 100-percent correct. My only wish is other Senators would give you an ear. Thanks for letting me know there is at least one man who is practical in Washington.

Sincerely yours,

FR. RAYMOND BRENNAN.

WASHINGTON, D.C., July 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We are sincerely grateful to you for your efforts to awaken the Senate as well as the general public to the dangers of our current policy in south-

east Asia. We hope you will continue your efforts.

We are enclosing a copy of a letter which, with some variation at the end, we have sent to our Senators, KUCHEL and Engle, and Congressman COHELAN, as well as to President Johnson and the Washington Post. We hope these may have some small effect.

Sincerely,

Dr. and Mrs. ROBERT FREEMAN.

COPY OF LETTER WRITTEN JULY 10

We are becoming increasingly involved in what is essentially a civil war in South Vietnam. Over a period of years we have repeated all the mistakes of the French by supporting three different rightwing dictatorships, none of which have had popular support. The present government is no exception. We have lost a number of American lives and are pouring money down the drain at the rate of over half a billion dollars a year.

If we continue in this manner, we can only cause more misery to the Vietnamese and add to their hatred and contempt of us. If we attempt to spread the war northward, we vastly increase the likelihood of nuclear war and the annihilation of mankind.

It is in the vital interest of all parties to find a peaceful solution to the problems of southeast Asia. We urge you to support Senators MORSE and GRAUENING in their efforts to work toward such a solution.

I hope you will excuse the obvious effects of writers cramp in this last copy.

Sincerely,

Mrs. VIRGINIA FREEMAN.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,

July 11, 1964.

Hon. SENATOR MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SENATOR: I wish to commend you for your persistent stand against the awful war in Vietnam in which we are so wrongly engaged, because that war is strictly a civil war, the majority of the people fighting against that military clique in power who are out for their own interests and those of our own country.

We are living in a new era when war is not glorified as in the past, but is by most people with a conscience a very immoral thought and deed.

I shall follow your efforts toward a peaceful world with great interest.

Sincerely,

Mrs. MARY ELLEN LONG.

BERKELEY, CALIF.,

July 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I agree with your statement of March 4, 1964, "American unilateral participation in the war in South Vietnam cannot be justified, and will not be justified in history." Please do all that you can to stop this unjustified war.

Sincerely,

BAYSON COLLINS.

EVERETT, WASH.,

July 9, 1964.

DEAR MR. MORSE: You are so right; the greatest threat to the peace of the world is our own United States, and what a pity. Our rulers talk peace, but they really do not mean it.

I am ashamed of what we are doing in South Vietnam, using those napalm bombs and burning everything and everybody. What on earth do we mean?

I am sick and tired of paying taxes to support "Murder, Inc." Send McNamara back to

Ford and curb that dirty CIA, which makes trouble for us all over the world.

More power to you, Mr. MORSE.

Very truly yours,

LETA G. JACKSON.

P.S.—Let's quit picking on (little) Cuba, too. We have plenty of troubles right here in our own country without causing upheavals in other places by the CIA. Worried.

Let's have favorable action on the medicare bill, please, Mr. MORSE.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.,

July 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: In the past years you have frequently been the lone voice of reason in the Senate.

Your recent position on Vietnam is another example of your honesty and courage. I am writing to you to voice my support and approval for your recent comments on the devastating situation in that country. May you continue to speak as the conscience of American democracy for many years to come. There is no one in the near future to replace you.

Thank you.

Mrs. NINA HERLICK.

AUGUST 5, 1964.

DEAR MR. MORSE: Many Americans are seeking a voice of sanity to lead them from the brink of disaster. The recent moves by our Armed Forces in southeast Asia give cause to ponder the possible consequences of our action. It is a time for sober-minded, cautious, calculated thinking. It is not the time for Goldwaterism, for brinkmanship, for defoliation.

We hope and believe Mr. MORSE, that you will oppose this action with all the vigor at your command. You will be applauded by those who believe democracy cannot be brought to peoples in other parts of the world with TNT and napalm bombs \* \* \* and perhaps later with atomic ones. Peace-loving peoples will support your efforts.

On the anniversary of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, no more fitting memorial to those who were unnecessarily sacrificed, would be a pledge and effort to preserve the peace of southeast Asia and the world. Mankind will take notice those who were accomplices to atomic annihilation (on second thought, mankind is unlikely to be around to take notice).

Sincerely yours,

JERRY ATINSKY.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,

August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: After listening to President Johnson on television on the night of August 4, I felt a feeling of helplessness and depression in what seem to me to be the U.S. position toward disaster for us and the world. Then I read your article entitled "Humpty Dumpty in Vietnam" in the August Progressive which you end with the admonition that "unless the American people make their voices heard very soon, they are not only going to spend more and more in this fruitless and unavailing task, but run the risk of engulfing the world in a nuclear holocaust."

What can a private citizen do? Even you, a respected Senator's voice is lost in the horrendous cry for extending the war.

The Civil Rights Act was passed now, not because of voices, however persistent—which are so easily ignored, but because we were poised at the edge of an explosion if something tangible were not forthcoming.

I am grateful for your voice of sanity.

Yours truly,

Miss SYLVIA STERNBERG.

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

18155

1964

BRONX, N.Y.,  
August 5, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I just heard on TV your statement in connection with the current crisis over Vietnam. Just wanted to let you know that there are those of us who appreciate and applaud your courage and honesty in assessing and describing the real facts of the situation, and the 10 years of history that preceded it.

It is to be hoped that increasing numbers of leaders, and plain ordinary people, too, will refuse to fool themselves and others, and by looking reality in the face, will contribute to the creative solution of the underlying economic and social problems and the all-important preservation of peace.

Best wishes.  
Sincerely,

NEGULA S. BUNTEM.

BRIDGEPORT, CONN.,  
August 6, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Words cannot express our admiration for you. You are a real man with wonderful principles; not only expressed in regard to our present crisis but in many others.

Pitiful there are not more like you in our country today, especially.

We and several of our friends are with you all the way.

Sincerely yours,

The PEDERSEN family.

CHICAGO, ILL.  
August 6, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: My wife and I wish to express our gratitude to you and our admiration for your courage, in speaking out as a lone voice for truth, rationality and morality.

It is a tragic commentary upon our present state of affairs that it requires almost heroic fortitude to dare to speak the obvious truth—much like the Hans Christian Anderson folk tale where only a child dared say aloud, "The King is naked."

Our national unity, alas, would appear to have been achieved in relation to the current Asian crisis by our President's acceptance of Goldwater's platform. Our world could and did survive the historical mistake of German Hitlerism—though at immeasurable cost in human suffering, which I witnessed as a military government officer in the European theater of operations. It cannot survive a comparable error by the people of this country, in this era of thermonuclear destruction.

The truths of which you speak so eloquently in regard to the "dirty war" in southeast Asia are easily verified for any who will trouble to study the open facts of recent history. Yet such is the pervasiveness of our media of misinformation that to state them is to qualify, in the minds of many, as a subversive, if not a traitor. Can truth be treason and falsehood the measure of patriotism?

I am sure that your lone voice of reason—like a beacon in a fog—has reached the minds of millions, whose voice is not yet heard. The judgment of history—if we are permitted to have a history—will record your truly great contributions, as it has other dissenters of the past.

With a gratitude far beyond our means to express it.

Sincerely yours,

RICHARD L. CRILEY.

BELLEVUE, WASH.,  
August 5, 1964.

SIR: I must write to commend you on your stand on Vietnam. Our untenable position in that area dates back to the Dulles days, and in these days of Presidential assassinations Goldwaterites, Wallaces, civil rights killings and violence, it is remarkable to see a man of your courage, intelligence, and loyalty to our country. It is unfortunate that men of your ilk cannot have more to do with the direction of our country—whose main goal should be positive direction toward international, economic, social, and moralistic well-being. As long as there are elected representatives of the Morse type, there is hope that we do not lose to totalitarianism by default.

Again, my wife, and our four children, thank you.

Yours truly,

WALTER J. EURCHUK.

PHILADELPHIA,  
August 5, 1964.

DEAR SIR: It's interesting to speculate just what President Johnson would have called Cuba, had she been misadventurous enough to have struck the ports, from which came the U.S. Navy ships protecting the Cubans during the infamous attack in 1961. No doubt, Cuba would have been called an aggressor.

Yet, when Johnson calls for an attack on bases, from which, he says emanated Vietnamese boats, the United States assumes the position of defender, not aggressor.

Senator MORSE, your position as a spokesman for a sensible policy in Vietnam has won a great deal of respect for you throughout the land. But if you assume a position of rah-rah man for Johnson and crew at the convention in Atlantic City, you will negate much of what you have stood for.

From a politician's point of view, you will probably compromise here and compromise there. But from an historical point of view, you could best serve the interests of your country, by resigning your seat and running as an independent candidate for President.

There is an independent force in this country that is neither Johnson nor Goldwater. They are looking for leadership, left of center. You could provide that, if you were willing to make the sacrifice for the people. You would be amazed at the numbers who would rally around.

No one, least I, am naive enough to think you could win, but you could force more out of the Democratic Party, by presenting them with another adversary, aside from the Republicans.

I have often wondered what makes a great man, and I think there are at least two things:

1. A discerning mind to be able to see the trends of history.
2. The willingness to sacrifice, for which quality, the masses will give undying support.

Think me, an idealist, naive, what will you. You have an opportunity to make a real turning point in American history.

Our illegal action will be paid back tenfold by the nations against whom we have acted.

Sincerely yours,

LAWRENCE H. GELLER.

TAMPA, FLA.,  
August 6, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: After hearing you on TV last night, I am impelled to let you know that I am slightly reassured to find that we have at least one sane person in Washington.

I commend you on your convictions and the courage thereof.

Sincerely,

O. C. MEHL.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,  
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I appreciate your words and your presence in the Senate, where no one else will use his intellect in this South Vietnam affair.

I believe the President has made a grave error. If the people were given all the facts, perhaps he would be able to act in a more intelligent manner.

Please continue to give us more information (I refer to your Senate speech on the Vietnam crisis).

BARBARA GOFF,  
WSP Member.SYOSSET, N.Y.,  
August 6, 1964.To the EDITORS,  
NEW YORK TIMES,  
New York, N.Y.

DEAR EDITOR: In the August 5 issue of the New York Times it stated, in a news article on the hostilities in North Vietnam that "One of the clandestine missions of the sea force is understood to be raids on points along the North Vietnamese coast. The raids are intended chiefly for information purposes, it is said. The raiders are said to have increased their activities in recent weeks."

These raiders were protected by American soldiers and ships. In spite of this and other evidence in recent weeks of our questionable involvement in southeast Asia you continue, in your editorial, to parrot U.S. Government official policy of moral indignation without regard to the facts. You have failed your readers by refusing to call a spade a spade. Your lack of courage and honesty in failing to point out the immorality and bankruptcy of our position in southeast Asia will some day prove to have been one of the blackest pages in the history of American journalism.

If, as stated in the August 6 issue of the Times: "Senator MORSE, Democrat, of Oregon, who over the last 5 months has directed almost daily attacks on what he calls McNamara's War"—why have we not heard about these attacks? Senator MORSE has been the only dissenting voice in the land for sanity and negotiations, and it is your journalistic responsibility to give us all the news, without editorial deletions. As aroused citizens facing crisis after crisis, how can we make intelligent decisions after having been fed lies and halftruths in the name of "unity"? Voices of dissent have systematically been ignored and stifled even in the more responsible mass media.

As a devoted Times reader I urge your immediate reappraisal of your editorial stand in regard to our role in southeast Asia. The facts clearly indicate that our present policy of brinkmanship and adventurism, spurred on by election year fervor, is leading us to disaster, both for our Nation and the world. The guilt for such a disaster will have to be shared not only by those who were directly responsible, but also by those who stood quietly by and allowed it to happen.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) TANJA WINTER.

EAST ALSTEAD, N.H.,  
August 6, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: You are absolutely marvelous and I count on you to keep the country from hypocrisy.



18156

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

August 8

I am writing to thank you for your public announcements on South Vietnam.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. NANCY D. SPAULDING.

New Milford, N.J.,

August 5, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I congratulate you on your firm stand with regard to Vietnam.

Apparently our administration has not heard the plea of the 5,000 educators who signed a petition urging an end to the war in Vietnam and a move toward neutralization.

Word has just come through that the Chinese Government (Red) will not stand by while "aggression" takes place in North Vietnam.

Your warnings regarding our complete and utter disregard of the 1954 Geneva Treaty have gone unheeded.

It is incomprehensible to me and probably to yourself how a country like the United States could allow itself to be caught in such a meat grinder.

I suggest that you immediately take to the mass media and tell the American people what is happening.

We are now reaching a point where we are trying to save face and where the endless bloodletting leads nowhere.

Again I congratulate you for such integrity in an area where your colleagues generally will go along without seemingly to know the consequences.

Cordially yours,

ROBERT GARRITY.

AUGUST 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Permit me to say thank you for your courageous vote against American policy in southeast Asia.

It is painful to admit to oneself that one's own country can be so wrong in a matter of foreign policy. Yet, it must be said.

I hope that more people will support your stand in the interests of peace and justice.

Respectfully,

CHARLES ECKSTAT.

WEIXMAN, MANDEL & KIPNIS,

ATTORNEYS AT LAW,

Chicago, Ill., August 6, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
U.S. Senate, Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I read in this morning's New York Times your remarks concerning the new crisis in the "McNamara war." I want to congratulate you on your forthrightness and the fact that at least one Senator is willing to stand up to be counted and fight for a new foreign policy that is so needed.

If it were not for the newsworthiness of your statements, I doubt if any newspaper or any person could ever realize that there is another side to the question. The administration, Defense Department, military leaders, and the newspapers all present only one side of an issue, and it is refreshing to find your remarks.

Sincerely yours,

RICHARD L. MANDEL.

THOMAS LICCIARDI,

REAL ESTATE AND INSURANCE,

Berkeley Heights, N.J., August 6, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATE MORSE: I would like to commend strongly the action you took today in the Senate in regard to President Johnson's resolution, which you aptly termed, "a predated declaration of war." This action keeps pace with the great and honest service you have always rendered our country.

I feel as you do, that a new approach is needed in our growing involvement in southeast Asia. We seem to be prisoners of a bankrupt policy whose inevitable end is war.

In the words of Negro ministers walking the streets of Jersey City during the recent rioting, now is the time to "cool it."

If ever there is anything I can do for you in the nature of support in your future political career, please call on me.

Very truly yours,

JEROME SHAW.

# AMENDMENT OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1961

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 11380 to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to amendment.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I call up my amendment No. 1180.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment offered by the Senator from Oregon will be stated.

The legislative clerk read the amendment, as follows:

On page 6, between lines 6 and 7, insert the following:

## "CHAPTER 7.—MILITARY EXPENDITURES OF RECIPIENT COUNTRIES

"SEC. 108. Part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, is amended by adding a new chapter as follows:

## "CHAPTER 7.—MILITARY EXPENDITURES OF RECIPIENT COUNTRIES

"SEC. 471. MILITARY EXPENDITURES OF RECIPIENT COUNTRIES.—In furnishing assistance under this part, the President shall give special consideration to a country's allocation of its own resources as between military and developmental purposes. Priority in furnishing assistance shall be given to those countries whose military budgets do not exceed their legitimate and reasonable needs for internal security and self-defense and for meeting their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations or under any regional defense organization."

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on my amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the pending amendment, which adds a new concluding section to the economic assistance portion of the foreign aid act, may seem a modest one at first sight. It merely asks that more consideration should be given to the provision of economic assistance to those countries which do not burden their own people and our taxpayers with the support of an unnecessarily large military establishment. On the other hand, if the policy guidance provided by this amendment is taken seriously and followed conscientiously, this provision could have a highly salutary impact—not only in terms of our aid program but on the development of the independent nations of the free world.

After more than a dozen years of experience with a swollen and mismanaged aid program, I scarcely need cite chapter and verse to illustrate the fact that year after year we have poured money into countries which seduce us with the argument that they have to be placed in a posture to repel threatened Communist expansion. But every time that we look

at the record we find that swollen military establishments in less developed countries are of little or no use against the kinds of threats which are posed by Russian or Chinese imperialism. The utility of such establishments, on the contrary, seems mainly in the field of permitting authoritarian regimes to control their countries more tightly at the expense of making sound progress toward economic development. Yet, at least in theory, the United States proclaims that such development is the best defense against communism available to any of the less developed countries. If we are to be consistent and truthful about the aims of our foreign aid program, we should forthrightly pursue a policy of giving priority to those countries which concentrate on the welfare rather than the regimentation of their people.

The plain fact is that, in case after case, we find ourselves directly or indirectly supporting unduly large military establishments in countries which could not retard a Communist attack for even 1 day without our military assistance. For example, surely no one can be under any illusion that the huge South Korean army could successfully withstand invasion from the north without immediate U.S. military help.

But I need not take the time of the Senate to cite each of the many cases in this category. Who, for instance, can take seriously the through that Taiwan could either attack or defend itself against mainland China in a full-scale action without massive American military support?

In these circumstances, I do not see that anyone can marshal a successful argument against the amendment I am proposing here. The only rational argument against it is that it may not prove much more than a pious exhortation after its inclusion in the act, but this is true of any policy guidance which is given by the Congress to the executive branch.

The foreign aid bill needs many amendments by way of policy guidelines for its administration, if we really want to clean up the foreign aid program.

If the policy guidelines which we set forth are deliberately ignored by the Chief Executive, then we have a duty either to make such policies more clearly mandatory or to refuse to give the administration the funds it seeks from us. Obviously we cannot know whether the policy guidance provided by this amendment will be satisfactorily implemented until it is tried. If it is tried and proves inadequate, we can then undertake to provide more stringent guidance. But it is no argument to say that the amendment cannot be effective before we have even tried to put it into effect.

Mr. President, I urge Senators to accept this new section in the foreign aid legislation as a potentially vital contribution to the improvement of our foreign aid program.

My amendment sets forth the policy that we so frequently profess we want to develop in foreign aid. We are say-